

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Vol. XXIII

CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER 1949

No. 3

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THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Volume XXIII

SEPTEMBER 1949

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ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN ITALY¹

GIOVANNI MAGNOLATO²

AS ITALY has a strong and very ancient tradition of philanthropic and welfare activity of every kind, it must be said at the very beginning that this discussion does not propose to introduce social services as a new idea to Italy. Rather, the purpose of this discussion is to strengthen existing services by suggesting a better organizational structure, more efficient ways for administering existing programs, and clearer principles to guide in the administration of these programs. This approach implies a tolerance for the concept of social service as a separate and distinct field of activity existing by itself, thus recognizing

in the complex duties of the social worker professional characteristics requiring a specific training with its own set of rules and its own techniques.

The opinion held by American social workers that Italy lacks technically qualified social service workers is somewhat exaggerated. Undoubtedly, there is a scarcity of social workers in Italy, but the same scarcity is lamented in the United States, although to a lesser degree. This erroneous judgment is due, in part, to the defective terminology used. For example, the visiting nurses in Italy (generally regarded as social workers) are always identified by this general title, although they often perform duties which Americans would consider within the realm of social service. As they have been trained as nurses, they are, first of all, nurses. However, many have also had welfare training, particularly those in branches of the National Maternity and Child Welfare Agency.³ Some of these nurses who work in schools and institutions for children are to be regarded as children's workers. Others work in general hospitals, in antitubercular dispensaries, in antimalarial and in social dis-

¹ Translated from the Italian periodical *Solidarietà umana*, the official organ of the National Public Assistance Association, Vol. XI, No. 5 (March 1, 1948), *ibid.* (March 15, 1948), and *ibid.* (April 1, 1948), by Miss Ellen DiGiamBattista, assistant professor of Romance languages, Toledo University, and Felix M. Gentile, executive director of the Board of Community Relations, City of Toledo, formerly deputy director of welfare, UNRRA Italy Mission (1944-45).

² As an UNRRA Fellow, Dr. Magnolato, now inspector, Administration for International Assistance for the Piedmont Region in Italy, spent an extended period in the United States during 1946, when he studied our social welfare agencies. In this article, Dr. Magnolato analyzes social services in the United States as compared with social services in Italy.

³ Opera Maternità ed Infanzia.

ease clinics. In America these latter workers would be regarded as medical social workers. Our mental hygiene clinics also employ visiting nurses to perform psychiatric social work, but they are not dignified by the title "psychiatric social worker." Since 1934 in every seat of the Court of Appeals there have been established a juvenile court and an observation center for minors. The visiting nurses assigned to this work participate, in particular, in the activity of the observation center where they compile the case histories of minors, who are also subjected to mental examinations, and where psychology and psychiatry are used. In Rome, Florence, Trieste, Naples, and other cities many visiting nurses devote their activities to assisting families living within particular districts where the duties performed are similar to those of any American family welfare agency. One can readily see the generic application of the term "visiting nurse" to the practice of social work in Italy.

It is not intended to imply that the difference between Italian and American social work lies in the terminology alone. Social work has not progressed in recent years in Italy and may be regarded as having been in a state of arrested development for some time. But it is also true that Italians have practiced social work for a long time. What they need is to reactivate it in keeping with recent developments and not at all to set out to copy American methods and to accept American philosophies as gospel. Indeed, this might be harmful. It would instead be of greater help to the country to draw from the American experience those suggestions that can be fittingly absorbed into the fabric of Italian culture.

Before discussing American and Italian social work further, it would be well to dispel a fixed notion about America

which generally among Italians prefaces any comparison of the two countries. The idea is current in Italy that the progressive advances made by America in the field of social service are due, more than anything else, to the great wealth at the disposal of that nation. Now, this is not true. America spends proportionately for social welfare about as much as is spent in Italy. The reason for this progress, therefore, must be sought in other factors, such as the special training required to qualify for particular positions, the types of welfare services developed in America, and the methods of administration.

The American social worker has professional status on a par with a doctor or a lawyer and is not, as in Italy, an auxiliary to other professions. He has undergone technical and practical university training for which he has been granted a graduate diploma or a degree. He may qualify as a member of the American Association of Social Workers, an organization of professional social workers, highly regarded in the United States. In fact, public as well as private institutions seek workers with degrees and diplomas from among the forty-seven recognized schools of social service because they can be sure that, as a result of this special training, the worker will be efficient and competent in his work.

Perhaps an actual situation would serve better to illustrate the importance Americans attach to this special training. A few years ago the administration of a certain state vocational school for boys was subject to public criticism. If a similar situation had occurred in Italy, in all probability the first consideration would have been whether or not the director was a Christian Democrat or a Communist. Such criticism as arose in this school over the physical punishments of

juvenile delinquents would have been sufficient reason to stir up a violent press controversy, to say nothing of the political implications which would have attended it. In Italy the controversy could have centered around the administrator as an individual rather than as a public official responsible for the conditions which brought about the controversy. After a perfunctory investigation, the director would have been transferred and a new director appointed without any expectation that the program would be changed. In America the governor of the state in which the foregoing incident occurred approached the situation objectively. He summoned fifty social workers from various parts of the state, granting them the greatest freedom to conduct an investigation on the causes of the difficulties and possible remedies. After months of intensive study they reported that corporal punishments had a negative effect upon discipline and lessened the probability of rehabilitation; that psychiatric and psychological services were inadequate, with the result that the mentally deficient were kept with the normal children, thereby causing disorders; that the physical training program was too restricted; that the contacts of the young offenders with their families were too infrequent; that the police attitude toward the minors was harmful; and many other "technical" considerations. As a result of this report, the director was relieved of his post. The new director was not chosen haphazardly within the framework of the state administration or from among the candidates of political parties. Rather, he was a "technician" chosen by the social workers who were members of the study group. And, further, he was placed under the observation of this same group until the institution, which can now be consid-

ered as a model of its type, returned to normalcy.

It seems to an Italian that in America great emphasis is placed on new developments in the field of social work based on the study of social phenomena. Students in schools of social work combine theoretical study with a practical training in public, as well as private, agencies under specially assigned supervisors who are available to explain in detail the operations of the agency. Workers in social welfare agencies who do not have graduate training in social work are encouraged to take courses, often at the expense of the agency, to improve their abilities. This special instruction is provided either as a part of the agency program of supervision and in-service training or at universities offering special courses in social work.

Another very important factor in the structure of American welfare services is the high degree of co-ordination among and between public and private welfare agencies. Prominent and universal in character are councils of social agencies and community chests, which, if they existed in Italy, could do much to bring about a lasting co-ordination of our social agencies, where now the predominant current note is that of operation in stagnant, isolated divisions with the inevitable duplication of duties and waste of money and energy.

The council of social agencies, as a European observer sees it, is a voluntary affiliation of civic, philanthropic, and welfare agencies for the purpose of co-ordinating activities in the interest of gaining certain community-wide objectives. The principal functions of the council follow: to make studies of the needs of the community and of the social services operating therein; to fill the gaps of welfare services by promoting new services to

avoid duplication in the services; to promote the professional development of social work; to promote better social legislation; and to perform certain administrative services for the benefit of all affiliated organizations.

These functions are carried out with the collaboration of the affiliated agencies which avail themselves of the directives and the suggestions prepared by the council. The council usually organizes its work into divisions, such as those for child and family welfare, health, group work, etc., and affiliated agencies work within the framework of the division that concerns itself with the type of service the agency renders. In addition, there are what might be called administrative divisions, such as statistics, public information bureau, and social service exchange, through which divisions social service agencies exchange pertinent information, thereby avoiding duplication of effort.

It is important to note that special committees are appointed, from time to time, to conduct studies on special community problems and to recommend proposed remedies to the council.

An institution in Italy having duties similar to those of the council of social agencies was first established by the Giolitti Law of 1904, which created provincial welfare committees. This law was incorporated in the temporary decree of March, 1945. There were no positive results from this law, however, inasmuch as it resulted only in theoretic fiscal control by state functionaries who knew nothing about welfare. The occasional official who had some comprehension of welfare activities preferred to avoid any complication with welfare agencies unless he wished to invite trouble unnecessarily and "acquire a useless headache." The Giolitti Law neither provided sufficient authority to improve efficiency nor of-

ferred inducements to agencies to relinquish their autonomy to allow for co-ordination of effort. It could not be expected, therefore, that state officials, under this law, would do anything but impersonate the authority of the state in its limited program of financial help to the exclusion of any concern for the efficient development of welfare services. This implied authority only added to the already existing confusion. Thus a sterile bureaucracy became an obstructive force, and the welfare agencies continued to vegetate, each in its own rut, repeating antiquated methods of care and administration.

It would be well that the law be amended to correct these difficulties in the interest of the national welfare. It will not be easy to do so if, at the same time, we are to protect the interests of social agencies. It can succeed if the members of the provincial co-ordinating committees thus created are elected by welfare organizations rather than named by the prefect.⁴ This would represent, also, a step forward in the decentralization of the Italian state machine.

Any outside observer studying the American experience to learn how the strengthening of welfare services was accomplished is impressed by the influence professionally trained personnel have had upon that development. The interrelationship of theoretical and practical training is exemplified by the Merrill-Palmer School of Detroit. The Merrill-Palmer School is a nursery school based on the principles of the great Italian Montessori, and it is used as a demonstration and training center for children's workers wishing to work in such schools elsewhere. In this school the students spend from six months to two years in

⁴ The governor of the province appointed by the minister of interior.

continuous contact with the children who attend it, which training is an integral part of their university work which qualifies the student for a degree in social science. The school is so renowned that its students come from all parts of the world to study, and it is said that a major share of the child welfare program of the U.S.S.R. was organized by alumnae of the Merrill-Palmer School.

The school in itself has nothing exceptional about it from the point of view of physical appointments to be found in a model institution. Italy has schools that have better physical facilities with much greater capacity⁵ and not exclusively for the children of the well-to-do, as the Merrill-Palmer School is, but mainly for the children of workers of modest means. The Rossi School of Schio, the Marzotto School of Valdagno, and many similar ones in Lombardy and Piedmont come to mind. What makes the Merrill-Palmer School outstanding is that it is a training center for professional personnel from different states and even from different countries. It is from the professional character of the training program that Italian social work can draw suggestions, inasmuch as Italy is lacking in institutions that offer training of this kind. Institutions exist in which the present programs could be modified to improve the professional character of their training.

The consistency and continuity of American welfare measures are closely allied to this specific and detailed preparation which students receive at such schools as the Merrill-Palmer School. A program of the importance of that of the Italian Ministry of Postwar Assistance would not have collapsed within a few months of its establishment had it been initiated in the United States. Experts

would have studied the idea carefully and weighed its possibilities before its enactment. American social service training, indeed, teaches the future workers to overcome obstacles even in unexpected situations, but basically it teaches one to make maximum use of the factual data at one's disposal—hence, the importance of statistical findings—and the resultant caution against initiating programs unless a maximum possibility for success exists.

A further result of the technical training which welfare workers receive is its effect in making welfare an honored and accepted scientific work. In America the dignity of man is respected, and those assisted are regarded as being sincere and honest. Recipients of assistance are never addressed in an arrogant or patronizing manner. They are never rudely threatened or repulsed. The law is never waved before them to frighten the applicant or to suggest to him that it is a goal obtained only with difficulty. And yet, the persuasive manner of the American welfare agencies shows it to be effective, for the needy persons who refuse welfare aid are reported to outnumber, by far, those who might be classed as professional welfare seekers. Finally, trained personnel has lessened the use of religious personnel, particularly in areas requiring persons with technical ability. In Italy, where the Catholic church has retained much influence over welfare institutions and where the numerous welfare functions of public and private agencies are performed by members of religious orders, many of whom are unprepared or who follow out-of-date or sectarian methods, the introduction of technical training would be helpful in improving standards of care and administration.

Outside a very restricted number of industrial social workers, the Italian so-

⁵ Enrolment of the Merrill-Palmer School was thirty-five in 1946.

cial workers are nurses with welfare duties, and the majority are visiting nurses who, for the most part, perform their duties under the general supervision of doctors. Their secondary status has a tendency to interest only certain persons in this type of work. In Italy the practice of social work is limited almost exclusively to women, whereas in America, where social workers possess a professional status, men represent a substantial percentage of the total profession, and, in the program for delinquents and adult offenders, men social workers represent more than 50 per cent of the employed personnel in this field.

Social service is sufficiently complex and varied to demand a place by itself. It may be useful for a social worker to be a nurse, too, but it is not necessary. Nurses and social workers represent two distinct fields, and there must be a more complete orientation on the essence of social service in order to obtain a definite change in emphasis from the health point of view to the social point of view.

If social work is to take root in Italy, on the basis of what is happening in America, Italian social workers must be convinced, first, that social service is an art and a science with its own principles and its own aims which will never reach complete fulfilment and achievement as long as they exist in the wake of other professions. They must band together as a professional group and form an organization whose purpose will be to uphold the importance of their work within the framework of national life and which will be capable also of representing Italy in an international welfare organization of similar purpose.

The first step is, naturally, that of training social workers. During the year 1946 at least six social service schools have been organized, backed by individuals or agencies, such as the former Min-

istry of Postwar Assistance and the Pontifical Welfare Commission. At present, twelve schools are functioning in the most important towns of Italy. Most of them draw about half their funds from the *Amministrazione Aiuti Internazionali* (the late Italian Delegation for Co-operation with UNRRA). There has been talk of forcing certain institutions, by law, to grant priority in employment to those who possess this special school training. This step is perhaps necessary in a country such as Italy, considering the insufficient importance that is given to the training of social workers. There is reason to believe, however, that, as trained persons have a chance to demonstrate their abilities, they will stimulate the agencies to avail themselves of specialized personnel by preference. In this regard, it is comforting to note that at the National Conference of Public Assistance Workers held in Venice in June, 1946, it was proposed that visiting nurses be used to check the need of the applicants for assistance rather than making use of the hasty and incompetent work of the police, as was the usual case.

It is necessary again to note the importance given education in America. In that nation education means the furthering and the improving of life. It means thought and analysis—yes; but always in terms of action, whereas in Europe it is too often reduced to a sterile field of study. Because of this American objective, graduates of university schools of social service are sought whose training is such as to translate these objectives into action. Their designation as graduates of schools of social service does not, in itself, satisfy the organization employing trained personnel. These workers must demonstrate practical abilities which help realize the objectives of such training.

If Italy is to profit by the experience

of social service administration in the United States, it must know how the diverse services offered needy persons in America are co-ordinated. Looking again to the councils of social agencies and their highly regarded social service exchanges, which provide for the interchange of information among social agencies, both public and private, it would be well for Italy to consider the establishment of central files of this kind in given areas. These files contain the names, addresses, and other information useful for the identification of persons and families who receive aid and other services, together with the names and addresses of the social organizations which have given service or are giving service.

It is not necessary to note anything about the kind of service given. The exchange of personal information about the client may not be revealed by the social agency without the approval of the client. The value of such a service is that it is possible to know how many times a person has been aided and the kinds of agencies he has found it necessary to call upon for assistance. This is helpful in assisting an applicant when he first applies, for the agency may ascertain his status immediately via telephone or letter. Within twenty-four hours, it is in a position to know how many organizations have helped the applicant in the past and which organizations are helping him presently. One can then communicate with the organizations that helped and are helping now in order to obtain particular details on the services and on the applicant as a basis for deciding whether supplementary aid may be necessary. If it happens that the request of the applicant is to be honored, the social organization notifies the information center, which will take note, on an appropriate form, of the date of beginning and termination of aid, name of the agency, and general informa-

tion on the person aided, without specifying, in any way, the services received.

The primary aim of this service is to give the applicant the possibility of taking full advantage of the services available within the locality without delay, to avoid his making simultaneous requests of other organizations, to save his shuttling between various offices, and to avoid the trouble and embarrassment of repeated investigations, thereby protecting his privacy, his sense of responsibility, and his personal dignity.

The social service exchange provides the means for facilitating an economical and efficient co-ordination of the social services. Overlapping in assistance is thus avoided, and concurrent services, when indicated, may be administered with mutual understanding for the benefit of the recipient. It is also a means of anticipating and discovering frauds on the part of those aided.

The practice of compiling lists of applicants and recipients is not new in Italy. The central files of the Communal Public Assistance Agency of Vicenza is a form of social service exchange and, when checked at one time during the UNRRA program, showed three hundred cases of overlapping in UNRRA aid. Obviously, this idea of a register is not new. What is new is the habit of exchanging information among social agencies. The central files of the Public Assistance Agency of Vicenza, although excellent, is for the personal use of the agency only, and very rarely do other social agencies make inquiry of this agency before giving assistance.

Further, the idea of making use of the exchange of information is not new in Italy. However, the method of making this information available and the purpose differ considerably from the social exchange system in the United States.

The aforementioned decree of March, 1945, which established provincial committees of assistance also rendered obligatory the issuing to those aided of an "assistance book" in which the social organizations were to record the services given and without which the recipient was denied further assistance. As a protection to the agency it had some merit, but its effect upon the recipient was bad, apart from the fact that this portable record of services received by the one aided, and available for scrutiny at the request of any public official, was offensive to his sense of privacy, to say nothing of the considerable expense it entailed. Agencies which were aware of these limitations neglected to record the services given, with the result that the records were inaccurate and of no value. Moreover, the person assisted often declared that he had never received the book or that he had mislaid it.

The terms "public" and "private" social services as applied to agencies in the United States have been used loosely without differentiating them. Since in Italy social organizations of every type are aided by public funds, it is well to underline the clear American distinction made between public and private organizations, a distinction determined largely by a financial criterion. Public agencies are those supported by public funds through taxes and other means of public financing. But, above all, public services are available to all persons and may not be administered on a partial or sectarian basis. Private agencies are supported largely by legacies or free donations and occasionally by public funds which may be given in special instances for specific purposes. Private agencies may, and often do, have a preferential basis for their services. A further distinction is the control over the expenditure of funds.

Public moneys are subjected to detailed control by offices of the federal, state, or local government; and the public is, at regular intervals, informed of expenses incurred and results attained. Private agencies likewise render public statements on their expenditures but to a lesser extent than do the public agencies. As has been said above, Italian public funds support private and public agencies as well; and yet fiscal control is scant and inadequate, and contributors are rarely informed, if ever, of the use made of their money.

American private agencies are left to secure their own financial support. They succeed very well, however, under an arrangement whereby a central fund-raising agency known as the community chest undertakes to solicit funds for all the private agencies affiliated with it and accredited by it. This co-operative arrangement acts also to create standards of work which are mutually helpful and give assurance of competent administration.

The way this is done is as follows: Every year the organizations affiliated with the community chest of a given territory present their own detailed estimate of expenses for the ensuing year. On the basis of these estimates, the community chest fixes a campaign goal corresponding to the sum of the estimates submitted, plus the anticipated administrative expenses of the community chest. Once each year, generally in November, all the community chest agencies of the United States conduct a campaign simultaneously—a campaign of about two weeks' duration—for the collection of contributions. If a given community chest does not reach the prescribed goal, the estimated demands of all the affiliated organizations are curtailed proportionally.

In Italy it is the practice of private agencies to run their campaigns at different times of the year. This puts agencies in competition with one another and, further, causes needless expenditure of energy and publicity in a country where better use of time and money should be made. The results are generally poor, inasmuch as the public, tormented by constant and unexpected requests, is inclined to seek refuge in an untrusting, unsympathetic attitude toward social services.

The co-ordination of social service in America is accomplished by co-operative agreements as noted above—by reports on activities and by direct supervision by specialists who visit agencies to discuss their programs. The nature of this relationship will vary depending upon the organization and whether or not it is under public or private auspices. But, by and large, the method and purpose is one. The importance of the exchange of experiences, possible through direct supervision, has proved of value not only in America but in Italy as well, when the same methods were employed by the American Red Cross and UNRRA. In Italy under the Red Cross and UNRRA programs considerable improvement resulted when local workers were able to consult on the spot with persons who were closely following their activity, as well as evaluating and revising it. The local employees were pleased with the interest shown and the help given and, consequently, worked with greater enthusiasm. The explanatory directives from the central office were quickly interpreted by an area representative. Moreover, information requested by the central office was verified without delay, which was rarely the case when reports were handled via correspondence. Consultations were held at once, and difficul-

ties that ordinarily would require months for solution were often solved in a few minutes.

Italy suffers for want of quick means of transportation. Officials, who look upon automobiles and motorcycles as a luxury, will not be quick to see the practicability of speedy means of transportation as a guaranty of more efficient service. Only by stimulating, improving, and assisting local programs at firsthand, programs now almost forsaken, will it be possible to realize a substantial rebirth of Italian social services. It is, therefore, worth the effort to insist that adequate funds be assigned for this purpose.

The collaboration of public and private social agencies is not unique, nor is it an activity peculiar to social service agencies in America. The courts, police departments, penal departments, hospitals, schools, health departments, industry, and labor organizations are not indifferent to one another, jealous of their own functions, and, in any way, hostile to that which does not fall within their special field of activity. Rather, contacts among them are frequent, and on those occasions collective plans of action beneficial to the community are determined. Case committee meetings, in which special cases are discussed, exemplify in a typical manner this co-ordination of various organizations, the product of a developed social consciousness. These are monthly or bimonthly meetings of the representatives of various organizations and groups listed above in which unique cases which do not fall within the ordinary jurisdiction of the represented agencies are examined so that some satisfactory solution may be found. By this method of collective agreement and action, the unusual need is met. It is to be stressed that these meetings are voluntary, inspired by the knowledge of the

complexity of social problems which can be handled only with good will and initiative on the part of all those charged with the solution of certain aspects of community living.

The frequent meetings among American agencies, both public and private, to discuss general questions and specific cases often is deplored as unnecessary and time-consuming. The tendency to collaborate is so spontaneous and so frequent as to lead to criticism. Perhaps there is too much of this type of activity, but it is to be hoped that in the future there may be occasions for similar criticism here in Italy.

Another important characteristic of the American social services, as compared with the Italian social services, which deserves mention is the preference for cash assistance to needy persons in their own home over other types of aid. The reason given for preferring this type of assistance is that it is the most humane, beneficial, and economical method of public aid. The rehabilitation effects of such aid have proved this to be the case. Children placed in foster-homes or in little groups directed by a husband and wife can be reared in a manner nearly approaching the normal family. They are brought up in an atmosphere capable of preparing them for what will be their future role in society. They can develop their personalities and enjoy more liberties than in institutions. While Italy is making a start in this direction by humanizing her institutions, as, for example, the Boys Towns at Civitavecchia and at Lanciano, which receive and re-educate abandoned children or those responsible for minor crimes, they have yet to adopt foster-home care on any extensive basis. The Maternal and Child Care Agency of the country does some placement of abandoned and orphaned chil-

dren with families, but this practice should be encouraged to the point of almost completely abolishing the institutional system.

Cash assistance given in this manner carries with it a measure of supervision through home visits made by social workers for the purpose of verifying eligibility and assisting in rehabilitation. In this way one is able to evaluate the need of the applicant or recipient, and changes in economic status are readily verified so as to suspend, increase, or diminish the aid. Finally, such a system permits a dignified relationship with the person assisted.

In Italy relief investigations are done in a hasty manner by municipal police, who are uninformed about such matters, and, as a result, they rarely have the right attitude toward the persons to be assisted. They ask neighbors for information and often divulge confidences, and it is not infrequent to find the reports inaccurate, biased, and arbitrary. Once granted aid, rarely does anyone check whether it is adequate or whether it ought to be discontinued. When these methods of investigation were presented at the National Convention of Public Assistance Workers held in Venice in June, 1946, it was recommended by the convention delegates that these functions be performed by the visiting nurses or by other experienced persons. It is to be hoped that this proposal will be implemented as soon as possible.

Not unlike other nations, the United States government has become an important part in the social security program of the nation. As with other nations, the interrelationship of the different levels of government became important. Because this relationship is an inherent feature of democracy, it would be well to show how humanitarian provisions can be success-

fully put into effect by a federal governmental authority making use of persuasion more than authority and leaving maximum autonomy and independence to local administrative units. The federal Social Security Administration, which is the national governmental agency for administering the social security program, by leaving the administration of the several programs to the voluntary initiative of the American states, succeeds in being an effective guide to the several states in the vast field of social security and public assistance. In Italy the state centralized system is autonomous and is a result of the combined influences of the French Napoleonic system, the German philosophy that glorifies the state, the interests of the feudal monarchy, and the Fascist dictatorship. Consequently, it does not reflect national life and does not represent the free initiative of the citizens but rather the activity of a restricted few who are ignorant of local needs. The reaction of the Italian people to this system is one of either deception, fear, or servility. The tendency to co-operate is rarely found.

This does not mean that in America the federal government leaves the administration of the social security programs in the states to chance. Every year, the regional officers of the federal agency choose a few counties in each state and assign to them officials known as analysts, in order to study the program in operation; to discuss local problems; to ascertain whether the application of the program is uniform in the state under consideration; to determine whether or not the applicants and recipients are treated with respect and their rights respected. All this is carefully considered by the analyst, who, at the end of his stay in the state, writes a detailed report, a copy of which is sent to

the state agency administering the social security program. In this way the federal administration may know, in detail, what is happening in certain areas of the state each year in order to assist in the progressive development of social service programs. It is also a means of controlling the use of funds apportioned to the several states to assure the impartial administration of assistance on the sole criteria of need and eligibility, without regard to racial, religious, or political belief.

The federal Social Security Administration supports programs for public aid to the needy aged, blind, and dependent children. These programs were organized originally when it was found that funds of individual localities were not always sufficient to care for the long-term needs of certain needy persons. In Italy this type of continuing aid for the categories of persons listed above is not known. Italian community social workers lament their inability to aid adequately persons in need over a long period, such as the aged and widows with dependent children, since the available funds were to be used for such urgent emergency needs as aid to exiles, veterans, partisans, and other war victims. Even these workers feel the need of funds assigned by the government for aid in special categories. Hence, it is to be hoped that before long Italy, too, will remedy this need, as has been done so successfully in the United States.

Italy can, undoubtedly, draw useful suggestions from the type of personnel employed by American public and private agencies. In fact, the employment of qualified, energetic, efficient, and courteous personnel in public and private agencies can have great influence on the social development of the population. Whereas a poor, meager personnel, besides being

expensive, can be a negative factor. With regard to Italian public officials, those who pass competitive examinations and are appointed may not be discharged, with the result that many workers are inclined to treat the public indifferently and discourteously. If Italy is to profit by the American experiment, it must aim to develop an efficient and courteous public administration. The activities and attitudes of the workers must be evaluated. This can be accomplished by means of service ratings, and habitually low ratings should constitute sufficient reason for dismissal. A state employee should regard his post as one in which he serves the public by whom he is paid, and he must act in conformity with this responsibility. Improvement in performance can be advanced through staff meetings in which projects related to the work of the agency and their application are advanced and freely discussed. The supervisory staff should guard against excessive administrative procedures which obscure the vision of the whole, interfere with a realistic point of view, or frustrate the creative work of the workers.

Finally, if Italy is to develop full stature in social service work, it must acknowledge the capacity of leaders in this field of endeavor as persons capable of organizing their work program, of distributing the work hours with precision, of making advantageous decisions and not being arbitrary, and of accepting a position of authority without being dic-

tatorial. In addition, the leaders in this field must be sufficiently secure to accept free expressions from their subordinates and inspire those under them to present a united effort for the welfare of the public. This calls for particular characteristics which respect the individuality of men.

The American system of work supervision is good practice. In some fields the standard is to have one supervisor for every eight social workers. In certain agencies the proportion is one to four depending upon the size of the case load and the type of cases. The supervisor oversees the work of the social workers by checking various procedures, compilation of forms, etc., but, above all, the progress of the case. The supervisor attaches much importance to the understanding the social workers have for the political and religious ideas and the personality of those being aided. The supervisor has frequent meetings (usually at least two per month) with his workers, at which problems are freely discussed. Individual conferences may be held upon request. The supervision of work does not develop out of lack of trust. It is a co-operative educational procedure in which the supervisor, for all his experience, respects the integrity of his workers. Until Italy can develop the same kind of respect for recipient and worker alike, it will be meeting the problem only halfway.

PADOVA, ITALY

GENERIC ASPECTS OF SPECIFIC CASE-WORK SETTINGS¹

HELEN HARRIS PERLMAN

SOME time ago a young student presented himself for his final oral examination at the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration, looking, as any of us would at such a moment, his most professional self. He was asked to discuss some aspect of social work of particular interest to him. We were momentarily startled by his first statement. "I," said the student, "am psychiatric." We knew in that same instant, of course, that he *felt* "psychiatric," as any of us might, facing an examination, and that what he meant to say was that his special interest was in psychiatric social work; and so the examination went forward without further ado. But this student's slip of speech served a purpose. It presented in sudden bold outline a problem of which the faculty had been uncomfortably aware for some time and upon which we had been working. It is the problem of the professional neophyte's identification of himself as a specialist. It is the problem of the experienced practitioner's identification of himself not with the profession of which he is a member but primarily with the place in which he works or in which he once had training. It is the problem of the generic and the specific and their relation to each other. In its narrowest sense it may be seen as a problem of preparation and teaching in a school of social work, but in its broadest implications it is the problem, first voiced some twenty years ago by the Milford conference, as to whether social work is to be an

"aggregate of specialties" or a unified profession.

Within the past few years, freed momentarily from the tensional activity which the war thrust upon us, the profession of social work has had the breathing space to stop and take stock of itself. Like all growing and flourishing organisms, our profession experiences growth as an active forward thrust and then a quiet, latent period, in which certain integrations and consolidations take place. We are in such a period now, and our search is for our wholeness again. There are various indications of this. The schools of social work through their joint curriculum committee have been factoring out the generic elements in case-work knowledge and skill which transcend specializations. Faculties of individual schools and in joint conference have been seeking the common denominators of social work method, whether found in case work, research, group work, or community organization. And at this writing the social work practitioners' associations are meeting to consider means of unifying and consolidating their programs.

The student who was "psychiatric," the search for sound preparation of students by a school of social work, the ferment in the field of practice—all these led to the development of this paper. It is motivated by a wish to find greater unity in our profession and by concern that our growth should be sound and strong. It has limited import in that it considers only social case-work practice, and further limited in that it proposes

¹ Presented at the National Conference of Social Work, June 13, 1949, Cleveland, Ohio.

only one basic idea as a means to the achievement of further unity. It is an attempt not to answer but simply to open a question. Its premise is this: that the special settings in which case work is practiced—medical, psychiatric, family, children's, court, school, these settings which have been assumed to create the chief element of "specialness" or separateness in case-work practice—may be found, on careful analysis, to have many same, common, generic elements among them.² If this is so, it may have considerable significance for the broadening of the generic base of our profession.

There is agreement among us all that there are certain elements basic and generic to all social case work wherever it is practiced. They may be formulated as these:³ (1) a philosophy which sees human welfare as both the purpose and the test of social policy; (2) a professional attitude which combines a scientific spirit with dedication to the people and purposes that one serves; (3) a knowledge of the major dynamic forces in human beings and the interaction between them and social forces; (4) a knowledge of methods and skills whereby the person with professional intent and understanding can help persons with social problems better utilize their own powers or opportunities in their social situations. This is the content of social case work which is our common property, held in greater or lesser degree by each of us, our generic base.

Now this professional equipment is

² The writer formulated this problem and presented it in the School of Social Service Administration's report to the A.A.S.S.W. Curriculum Committee in November, 1947. It was incorporated into the summary report made by that committee's chairman, Florence Day.

³ Formulated by members of the Curriculum Committee of the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.

taken by each of us not into the "field of social case work," as we so often carelessly say, but rather into a special kind of agency which uses the social case-work method as a primary or secondary way of rendering its services. We go into specific settings. This is where our separation and difference from one another begin. What is the nature of this difference or separateness which the setting creates? Is it more apparent than real? Is everything different in each social welfare setting from the other? Or is it possible that, for all the surface variations, greater likeness than difference may be found? Point a quick finger at a psychiatric social worker and ask her to say what is "different" about the psychiatric setting. "The team," she will probably say, "the clinical team." Now the medical social worker: "The doctor," she will probably say, "the medical authority." Now the family case worker: She will not be so ready, and therefore she will probably begin with one of those half-circle gestures which in social work mean "Oh, just everything. It's all so unclear." And that will probably be the truest answer—it is indeed unclear. Because the fact is that we have not factored out from the various settings in which social case workers operate what the specific nature of their differences is. We have maintained certain stereotypes of phrase and concept about settings which often do not truly describe or embody the actual operating units.

The fact is that neither in schools of social work nor in the field of practice have we tackled the possibility that, among the varied settings in which social case work operates, there may be certain common characteristics. Were these factored out and analyzed, we might have to add to our body of knowledge and skill about human beings and their behavior a

sum of knowledge and understanding of the social welfare agency itself, its general characteristics, its general modes of operation, and the ways in which it affects the content and method of its case-work services. We have extracted and formulated general concepts and principles about the dynamic phenomena of human behavior—and what could be more complex? We have formulated principles governing the methods by which people can be helped. We have yet to analyze and classify, to learn, and then to teach, the generic aspects of specific settings.

One point must be made clear: None of this says that all settings are alike any more than we would say that all people are alike. There are differences in structure, function, and means by which function is implemented. But, just as we could come to know individual human difference only as we first understood the general characteristics, attributes, and adjustments of people as a whole, so we shall come to know true differences among settings only as we first understand their likenesses. Difference can be established only if there are some comparable generic roots of likeness; difference is *from* likeness, and it can be understood only by comparison.

And now to some illustration of this thesis. We took the first steps toward testing this premise in the case-work faculty of the School of Social Service Administration when we placed before ourselves the possibility of developing a course in which the students would learn to know and understand social agency settings as the bodies within which the life-stream of case work operates. As we plan it, this will be a course given in the last quarter of the student's work. He will have studied, through a sequence of cases in class, the case-work helping proc-

ess as it operates within and is affected by a variety of social agency settings, and he will have had actual field-work experience in two different settings where case work is practiced. Our purpose will be to equip each student with a way by which he can readily and soundly transfer and orient himself to any setting he may encounter, a way by which he can readily and soundly utilize the setting in the interests of the client and, of greatest importance, perhaps with a means of insuring his primary identification with the practice of social case work wherever it is done. Our first effort was the attempt to classify the diversity of social agencies in our society. We arrived at two major categories of setting and then a third major subcategory.

The first group we called "primary settings." The agencies within this group are the traditional social agencies. They are set up primarily to meet problems and needs of individual social adjustment. They use the method of social case work as the major means of administering their services. Family and child welfare agencies, whether under public or private auspices, are the typical representatives of these primary settings.

The second large grouping we called "secondary settings." These are agencies set up primarily to meet problems and needs of individual adjustment which call for professional services other than social work—medical or educational or legal. When the social aspects of these medical, educational, legal, and psychiatric needs are seen to be problematic, the social case-work method is introduced as a means of facilitating the individual's use of the agency's basic service. Hospitals, clinics, courts, schools, are the typical representatives of these settings.

Both the primary and the secondary setting have this in common: They are

created for the promotion of individual human well-being, and they both utilize social case work as a means to that end. But in the secondary setting case work is used to help the individual make use of a service rendered by another professional group. One of the generic problems in the secondary setting, therefore, is the case worker's maintenance of his own professional identity.

Now within both the primary and the secondary grouping is to be found a sub-grouping, carrying certain common characteristics. This is the group of settings which are "living-in" situations—the correctional school, the mental hospital, the children's institution, the home for the aged—where the practice of social case work is decidedly affected not only by whether the core service is a social welfare or other human welfare service but also by the very fact of its occurring in an intra-mural and controlled environment.

It is possible that better or more useful classifications may be found. What is important, for our purposes, however, is that there be classification, that some grouping of likenesses be made toward viewing the wholes as well as the parts. Immediately, as we classify settings, we can begin to test our assumptions about them. Current assumptions in case-work practice are threefold:

1. Assumptions held about agency structure. It is commonly assumed, for example, that training in a psychiatric setting is a basic essential to working in such a setting because of its unique structure.

2. Assumptions held about working operations within these structures. It is commonly assumed, for example, that the necessity for the establishment of eligibility is peculiar to the public relief agency.

3. Assumptions held about certain case-work problems thought to be the exclusive concerns of given settings. It is commonly assumed, for example, that the component of authority is encountered only in coercive or protective settings.

But, as we begin to examine some of these assumptions, we find that they do not hold, that there are numerous aspects of structure, functioning, and working problems which cut horizontally across settings and groupings of settings. Within the limits of this paper I can give only a few examples.

First, in relation to the generic aspects of agency structures: Let's look at an average situation in point. An average social case worker with experience in a family case-work agency is one day approached by the superintendent of schools and asked to come to work in the school system, to help with their problem children. Now she feels confident, this family case worker, of her experience and skill in helping children and their parents. But she has a few qualms about leaving the safety island that was her own agency for an unknown setting. She is uneasy because she knows it will be different, but the trouble is she doesn't know how or in what ways it will be different. She doesn't know how or where to begin to look for difference. What she needs, of course, is not six easy lessons in school social work. She needs some understanding of the generic factors in agency structures.

Now begins her period of trial and error, her period of seek-and-fumble orientation. As she sees crowds of children filing in and out of classrooms, her mind paws the air frantically for some estimate of case load—what and who will constitute her case load? In School No. 1 she is called in by the principal and told to run

out and find out why Tommy Jones is truanting. She feels resentful—she isn't used to being told, she is used to being consulted, and, moreover, she isn't used to going out to pick up recalcitrant clients. In School No. 2 she discusses a child's individual needs with a young and intelligent teacher, and she is fixed with a glassy eye and told: "Listen, I've got to get forty kids through algebra by June 15." In School No. 3 she walks into the textbook storeroom, which is by courtesy called her "office," and finds the school nurse reading one of her records; she is shocked by this lack of ethics, and the nurse is indignant at her reaction. As she hurries to discuss "confidentiality" with the principal, she finds him severely lecturing a hostile parent whose co-operation she has been carefully wooing. And in School No. 4 she learns that the assistant principal is furious because he was not consulted on the classroom changes suggested for Mary B., when curriculum problems are his particular area of expertness. Ours is, as you can see, a bewildered case worker indeed, and she is just about to light a cigarette as an aid to rumination when she remembers that, for physical and moral safety purposes, smoking is not allowed in this setting.

Suppose she had been equipped, this case worker, with some concepts about agency structure and function by which she could have been prepared to understand the agency to which she was going. One such concept with which she might have been armed is this: "Every welfare agency, whether primary or secondary, is a community. No matter what its uniqueness, there are within it certain common factors which are found in every community. One of these is that every community has a purpose, and it develops a structure and a form of organiza-

tion by which to implement that purpose. Certain persons within every community carry given and known functions which are related to the community's primary purposes. Within those functions lie certain duties, certain authorities, certain responsibilities. Every community has certain mores and traditions which govern what is or is not done." And so on. In order to be able to operate satisfactorily within a community, the individual must take cognizance of these communal phenomena. But, further, to be able to operate as a dynamic and effective instrument in the community's achieving its fullest social usefulness, the individual must have developed a systematic way by which to come to understand it.

By the same token, in order to operate within a welfare agency, which is a community of purpose, the social case worker must recognize it not simply as a "place" that houses case work but as a living body of social interest. And, in order to be able to operate dynamically and effectively as a part of it, he must be equipped beforehand with a systematic way by which he can apply himself to understanding the agency's purposes, program, ways and means of functioning, and thence to taking a part in the best fulfillment of its purpose.

Had she been schooled in this one generic concept, our unhappy colleague might have entered this specific school setting more happily for herself and more successfully for the purpose that she was to fulfil. She would have asked herself what a school is for and how its purpose is different from a family agency's; she would recognize that, with its different purpose, its focus, means, and interests would be related to that primary purpose. She would seek for the relationship between its primary purpose of education

and its use of a social case worker. She would recognize levels of authority and responsibility placed on certain persons, and her dealing with these persons would be based on understanding, not simply the person per se, but the particular role placed upon the person by the setting.

Once an agency is understood as a living community, one can turn to observe the functioning within it. Thus I turn to a consideration of the second assumption I named—that is, that certain settings require particular ways of operation on the part of the social case worker and that they can be learned only in these specific settings.

We would agree that in every setting, primary or secondary, intramural or extramural, the social case worker is charged with the effective utilization of himself in working relationships with other persons. This concept is most familiar to us when we call it "teamwork relationship." As soon as we put it into that familiar phrase, we recognize that we usually think of "team" as operating in a clinical, and most often in a psychiatric, setting. Is teamwork specific to the psychiatric setting? Or is it—or perhaps one should say, can it be—a basic way of operation in all social case-work settings?

In the psychiatric clinic the psychiatric social worker is in continuous teamwork relationship with psychiatrist and psychologist. In the medical setting the medical social worker is in constant team co-operation with doctor, nurse, dietitian, or any one or another of the professional persons whose services are bent to the individual patient's need. In the public school the social case worker operates together with principal, teacher, and other school functionaries. In the institution for children the social case worker is "teamed" with house parent, teachers, or

maintenance persons who affect the child's life. And even in the family agency, about which there is so often the assumption that the case worker plays a solo part, the team relationship is present, though not always recognized. It exists between case worker and supervisor, between case worker and home economist, consultant-psychiatrist, or any other persons whose services are being used, together with the case worker's, toward meeting the client's needs.

To say that the teamwork relationship is generic to all social case-work settings is not, however, to say that it is exactly alike in all settings. It may be different by a number of characteristics. In one setting it may be a well-established pattern of continuing and fairly fixed operations in which the role of each participant is clearly defined. In another setting it may involve short-time, frequently shifting relationships between the social case worker and other agency persons. In one setting the social case worker may be at the center of the team; in another he may be in one of several auxiliary positions; and in a third he may be in equal partnership. But those differences are not differences of the essence of teamwork; they are, rather, varied patternings of the same kind of relationship. The generic characteristics of all teamwork, done in whatever setting, are these: (1) A common or joint goal is held by the persons working together; (2) these persons are come together because each has a special knowledge or skill or role in relation to the achievement of this common goal—that is, differing functions and ways of functioning are brought together for the joint purpose, and the team members must be clear about and respect the particular values which lie in those differences; (3) toward forming and maintaining co-operation among these several

functionaries the social case worker carries particular responsibility for the disciplined use of his understanding and of his ability to facilitate productive working relationships.

All settings, then, require teamwork of the social case worker, some consistently, some sporadically, some with roles fixed, others with roles shifting. But the understanding of that working relationship, the attitude toward it, and the skills in management of it are basic and generic and need, therefore, to be part of every case worker's professional equipment.

A third assumption I proposed to examine was that certain problems in case-work functioning are encountered only in certain settings and that, therefore, case workers must be trained in the particular setting where those problems most frequently occur. This assumption is only partially valid, I believe. It would be absurd to deny that some problems occur with greater frequency and consistency in some settings, by virtue of their special nature, than in others. We have tended to overlook, however, that these problems often are to be found in like kind, though in greater or lesser degree, in like settings. Look, for example, at the problem named in the child welfare field as "separation." Like any unmanageable problem for the client, it becomes a problem of management for the case worker. It becomes, for the case worker, a problem of understanding and helping people to deal with the emotional complex of leaving the known and going to the unknown. The child-care field isolated, studied, and dealt with this problem, which they have known intimately. Now "separation" begins to be spoken of as though it were spelled with a capital *S* and were a problem exclusive to this child welfare setting. But is it? Look at the clients in the group of settings classi-

fied as "living-in" settings. The old woman who goes into a home for the aged; the father with tuberculosis who goes for a period of sanatorium care; the person who goes for state hospital treatment; the adolescent offender who enters a correctional school; the child going into a treatment institution—all these persons, for all their varied problems and differing resolutions, present one common problem to the case worker, that of "separation," that of helping to loosen old bonds and to anticipate and eventually accept new ties. This means that the social case worker in whatever setting who arranges for taking an individual away from his normal environment or for taking him into a controlled environment is thrust into dealing with separation. It is a problem which is manifest in a whole grouping of agencies which, while they may have specific functions, have at the same time many generic aspects.

It is now time to ask, "What of it?" Suppose further inquiry and analysis show it to be true that the varied settings in which we work are more alike than unlike and that common factors of both structure and functioning may be traced across them. Of what use is it?

If we start with the education and training of the student for the practice of case work, there is the possibility that he will be prepared not only, as he now is, with a way of understanding and helping people but also with a way of understanding and effectively using whatever setting it is in which he will work. Even now he is taught that he is a representative of the agency which hires him. A study of generic factors in settings will provide him the means by which fully to understand what he represents. To become habituated to a given setting is not to understand it, nor does the mere "falling-in" with the way that

an agency operates enable one to use its possibilities creatively or initiate changes within it.

With the means by which to understand settings, their related aspects, and their effect upon practice made an articulated part of our professional knowledge, the case-work practitioner will be more competent than he now is to move from one setting to another. The hiring agency may have assurance that the orientation process will be both more swift and more sound and that its function will not be distorted to fit some carried-over pattern. There will remain, of course, the fact that special contents of knowledge will be necessary for special areas of practice, but this will not be confused, as it is today, with the idea that he should have been trained in a specific milieu.

A third possibility arising from the factoring-out of generic elements in settings seems to me to be of particular import. This is the possibility that it may lead to a real clarification as to the essential nature of specialty in our practice. We have tended to take for granted that all case-work practice which goes on within a given setting is a specialty—that is, the setting has been equated with the specialty. This is a loose conception and a dangerous one. It is responsible for the social case worker's loss of professional identity; for the phenomenon, not uncommon, of the social worker turned handmaiden to other professions. True specialization—and by that I mean concentrated and experimental work upon certain problems or aspects of practice—can occur only when those problems or aspects have been carved out from among others, have been isolated for purposes of differentiation and ramification. To have carved them out and differentiated them means that they have been separated from those other problems and

principles of practice which have been established as generic, as the basic property of the whole profession.

And now we are back to the point at which we started, to the consideration of whether our profession shall be an aggregate of specialties or unified and whole. This is a problem, but it is difficult only when we make it so. We make it an obstructive problem when we jealously guard specialty from the encroachments of general practice or when, on the other hand, we assume that everything is equal to everything else. We make it a divisive problem when we pose "generic" against "specific," as if one existed versus the other. Perhaps we need to restate for ourselves the essential characteristics of growth and development:

"In evolution," said the scientist Sir Walter Langdon-Brown,⁴ "there are two parallel processes—increasing division of labor and increasing co-ordination between the different parts." I believe this holds true not alone for the evolution and development of biological units and social units. It holds as well for the evolution and development of a profession. The process of the increasing division of labor is the process of specialization; the process of increasing co-ordination is the process whereby the specialization feeds back into the corporate body. The corporate body is strengthened and deepened and broadened thereby. And from this greater broadening and deepening of our knowledge and skills, nourishment is provided for new experiments with difference. A specialty has no life of its own; it cannot wall itself off from its basic ground roots without courting sterility and fragmentation. At intervals it must seek its points of integration with the

⁴ Quoted by Wayne McMillen in *Community Organization for Social Welfare* (Chicago, 1945), p. 52.

total body, both to incorporate and to give nourishment. Ours is not a problem, then, of oneness versus separateness, of wholes versus parts, of generic versus specific. It is a problem of recognizing that these are parallel aspects of our professional development. With this recognition we must bend our understanding and effort both to hastening and to making sound our growth. Our search must constantly be, then, the search for our

basic unities. Only as these are found and taken hold of vigorously can we thrust forward into practice and experimentation with our different special labors.

The search for the generic aspects among the specific settings in which case work is practiced may serve in a small way to expand and deepen our base of professional unity. It is in this hope that this paper is written.

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THE CASE WORKER IN CLINICAL AND SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH

HENRY S. MAAS AND EDITH VARON

THE social case worker is well qualified to participate in any research on man that requires a dynamic approach to personality and to social processes and in which the case worker's skills in interviewing and process-recording can be utilized. That researchers have failed to any great extent to use the case worker and that the case worker has been hesitant for many reasons to enter research have resulted in a loss to both social work practice and the scientific study of man.

The fields of research in which social case workers might profitably engage have, to date, been ill defined. The functions which case workers might perform in research have been incompletely explored. There are conflicting ideas about the case worker's place in research in the writings and practices of clinical researchers, of social scientists, and of social workers themselves. An examination of their relevant thinking and of recent practices and an analysis of the case worker's qualifications for research seem appropriate. This article grows out of the authors' work on a clinical research team.¹

DEFINING FIELD AND FUNCTIONS

There is wide agreement that "man is today's great problem."² Quite consist-

¹ In its second year the Group Psychotherapy Research Project of the William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation is studying group psychotherapy in outpatient clinic and hospital facilities. A third social case worker was added to the research team for the second year of the project's work.

² Henry A. Murray, *Explorations in Personality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 3.

ently, various forms of the interview are referred to by social scientists as an essential research tool for the study of man.³ For clinical research, Dr. Henry A. Murray refers to the "analytical procedure or interview" as "the best research tool we now possess."⁴ But here the agreement ends; the social case worker's participation in research is ignored by some clinicians and encouraged by others. In Murray's own studies at the Harvard Psychological Clinic, although interviews were one of his research techniques, he used no case workers; and subsequently he requests the collaboration of psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists for clinical research.⁵ Case workers are conspicuously omitted. By contrast, Dr. Spafford Ackerly's remarks on social work in the clinic team bear repetition: "Where there are human relations, there is social work.

³ See, e.g., R. K. Merton and P. L. Kendall, "The Focused Interview," *American Journal of Sociology*, LI (May, 1946), 541-57; Irvin L. Child, "The Use of Interview Data in Quantifying the Individual's Role in the Group," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXVIII (July, 1943), 305-18; G. Murphy, L. B. Murphy, and T. M. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1937), pp. 844-45.

⁴ "Round Table: Problems in Clinical Research," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XVII (April, 1947), 206. See also the section on the interview in *Assessment of Men* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1948), pp. 113-19. Considering all the situational tests used for the selection of O.S.S. personnel, Dr. Murray and others on the staff (of psychologists and psychiatrists) conclude: "... there was certainly no technique that yielded more that was relevant and significant than the hour and a half spent in listening to a candidate talk about himself."

⁵ "Round Table: Problems in Clinical Research," p. 209.

It is the core of the social sciences. It is the social sciences put into practice"—and he looks forward to social workers' increased participation in clinical research.⁶ Indicative of the current lack of regard for social case workers as clinical researchers is the fact that a research consultants' committee operating under the National Mental Health Act in a federal government agency includes psychologists, psychiatrists, anthropologists, and sociologists, but not one social worker. On the other hand, Dr. David M. Levy expresses his appreciation of the auxiliary studies of thirteen Smith College School for Social Work students in field work at the Institute for Child Guidance during his research, contemporaneous with Murray's, on maternal overprotection.⁷ The clinical researcher's use of case workers seems to be largely fortuitous, depending on the disciplines represented in the clinic setting where he does his research or on the limits of his own professional experience but hardly, it is presumed, on the basis of an evaluation of the social case worker's qualifications.

Social scientists, like clinical researchers, fail to concur on the issues. McIver, as a sociologist, considered part of the problem some years ago:

One of the hardest and one of the most essential tasks of sociology is to understand the cohesive and disruptive forces that make and mar social harmonies, to understand them not merely in their results but also in their operation. . . . Sociologists have done comparatively little to study it. They lack the opportunity to do it which the social worker possesses. Large scale investigations do not bring us close to it. Statistical information cannot yield this knowledge . . . it is only those who are in a position to use the case method, or at least to observe

⁶"The Clinic Team," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XVII (April, 1947), 193.

⁷"Maternal Overprotection," *Psychiatry*, I (November, 1938), 561-62.

social situations closely, who can open for us its possibilities. It is significant that those who have recently advanced the study of group processes are writers who have been themselves associated with social work in one way or another.⁸

McIver notes the advantageous "position" and "method" of social workers for exploratory research and cites the contributions of some. He does not, however, detail the research areas or functions and the working relationship of social scientists and social workers. Lippitt more recently, in a survey of needed sociopsychological research, recommends that "intimate teamwork between the researcher and practitioner is a necessity for the development of an active program of research." While he advises "more training in research methods to group-work professionals," he does not here describe how the social worker collaborates in research after the social agencies have been made available as laboratories for the social scientist.⁹

Recently, truly collaborative operational studies, staffed jointly by practitioners and researchers, have been successfully done. Under the supervision of Drs. Marion E. Kenworthy, Frank J. O'Brien, and other psychiatrists, social workers and social scientists were joint participants in the much publicized Harlem Project Study, a social and clinical action-research.¹⁰ Similarly, social

⁸R. M. McIver, *The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), p. 82.

⁹Ronald Lippitt, "Sociopsychological Research and Group Work," in *A Decade of Group Work*, ed. Charles E. Hendry (New York: Association Press, 1948), pp. 166, 177. Elsewhere Lippitt describes how researchers as leadership trainers or consultants may work with group workers, but it is not clear how the skills of the latter are used in this undertaking (see Ronald Lippitt, "Techniques in Research in Group Living," *Journal of Social Issues*, II [November, 1944], 55-61).

¹⁰"The Role of the School in Preventing and Correcting Maladjustment and Delinquency: A

workers played a major part in the Children's Bureau's pilot study in St. Paul.¹¹ In these studies there was teamwork between practitioners and researchers. No rigid lines demarcated the areas of research and practice, each staff member contributing to the studies according to his skills.

This flexible and realistic approach apparently has advantages for science too. To wit, Gardner Murphy implicitly encourages practitioners to participate in research when he recognizes that science may gain from their experiences:

If therapy, or education, or other engineering enterprises find any principles, coherences among data, as part of their task of controlling their material, the psychologist will put himself in a precarious condition by refusing to attend. It is largely by using, as capital, all that we have, that we have been able to build a psychology of sufficient value to engage the interest of serious people.¹²

It is apparent, then, that, although some clinicians and social scientists have failed to consider the possible contributions of the social case worker as a researcher, others, like Drs. Ackerly and David Levy, McIver and Gardner Murphy, recognize or imply that the social case worker has a place in research.

The major problem of the place of research in social work is only tangentially related to our subject. Social workers themselves have but recently tried to clarify their own thinking about their research fields and roles. The purpose of Western Reserve University's Workshop

on Research in Social Work was "to arrive at some common viewpoint regarding the field of research which concerns the social work enterprise"; its assumption is that "some problems are in a special sense the responsibility of the practitioners and students of social work."¹³ At the same time as the field of the social work researcher should be "delimited to fit his interests and competences," the Workshop apparently sets no limits to appropriate fields for social work research. Included in "basic research" (under the heading "Investigation of the Nature and the Developmental Process in Sociopsychological Problems") are "the effects on individual behavior of group associations," "marital conflict," and "parent-child relationships."¹⁴ The Workshop approaches its definition of the field of research for social work empirically, on the basis of those problems with which social work is concerned. The analysis proposes to consider what is central for social work research. It does not, therefore, concern itself with defining the outer boundaries of the field or all those problems which are peripheral to social work, yet are important enough to warrant inclusion in the field. Neither is the proviso on the results of social work research a useful guide to what these problems may be: "Theoretical knowledge might well be a by-product and would be desirable, but social work research envisions action for social work ends."¹⁵ Since the Workshop fails to define "social work ends," it fails to define the limits of social work research or to distinguish it from other social and psychological research.

¹³ *Research in Social Work: A Report of the Workshop on Research in Social Work*, sponsored by the School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University (New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1948), p. 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Study in Three Schools." Sponsored jointly by the New York Foundation, the Hofheimer Foundation, and the Board of Education of the City of New York. Mimeographed, 1947.

¹¹ *Children in the Community* ("Children's Bureau Publications," No. 317 [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946]).

¹² *Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), p. 14.

It would indeed be as difficult to conceive of "pure" sociopsychological research that has no implications for social work practice as to envision study of any of the *basic* problems proposed for social work ends that fails to have meaning for clinical and sociopsychological researchers.

On occasions when social case workers have engaged in studies, both their qualifications for and their satisfactions in the work have been apparent, but their generalized definitions of social workers' research fields and functions remain unclear. For example, Rae A. Levine, who used case-work interviews to investigate the mental hygiene needs of men rejected from military service for psychiatric reasons, writes: "The participation of case workers in this study demonstrates that case work has a place in research dealing with human problems and needs."¹⁶ The implication that a field of research for the case worker might be the man-with-problems-and-needs leaves us with an obviously unbounded field. Should the case worker's field of research be limited to the study of man-with-problems-and-needs *only* in the social agency? This would be a logical boundary if agreement could be reached on the definition of a social agency—is a public school or a psychiatric clinic where social case workers work a "social agency"?—and if all available human resources were not so urgently needed in the development of a science of man to help in the solution of the many problems facing us. Moreover, limiting case workers to research in the social agency overlooks the close relationship between social work and the social sciences. Social workers rely heavily on their knowledge of the social sciences in their daily practice; and social workers have skills which are uniquely part of the

body of social work knowledge and experiences gained through the application of scientific and social work knowledge, all of which might further research in the social sciences. It would seem to be to the ultimate advantage of both social work and the social sciences if social case workers were to participate in some psychological and clinical research.

A more positive definition of the field of research for the case worker then might not be confined by the locale of the research or the type of problem to be investigated. It is our conception that the skills and understanding which the case worker has to offer should determine where he serves, whether in his own agencies and with his own data or on projects sponsored by other disciplines. Of equal importance as a determinant of the field is the relevance of the research to man's current problems, and most clinical researchers and many social scientists are clearly so oriented in their work today.¹⁷ The social case worker's *field* of research appears to be, then, wherever research is predicated upon a dynamic approach to personality and social processes and wherever the skills of interviewing and process-recording are needed. His *functions* in research will then include activities involving at least the two skills cited.

ANALYSIS OF QUALIFICATIONS

Participation in research presupposes a knowledge of the scientific method as it applies to all sciences, in addition to training in precise thought and in knowledge of the special field in which research is to be done. Moreover, the field must be one to which the scientific method can be applied.

¹⁷ See, e.g., Kurt Lewin, "Action Research and Minority Problems," in *Resolving Social Conflicts*, ed. G. W. Lewin (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), pp. 201-16.

¹⁶ "Case Work's Stake in Research," *Family*, XXVII (June, 1946), 155.

Though we fail to recognize it explicitly, the social worker has acquired training in the scientific method while studying case work. Steps in the scientific method are used when a relief budget is computed and when a problem is diagnosed at intake; aspects of the scientific method are used regularly with active cases. The method of case work may be compared with the scientific method.

The scientific method starts out with the delimitation of a problem, the formulation of a question. It proceeds to empirical observations, using refined methods of scrutiny and measurement in the collection of data. Next, the data are classified. Subsequently, the scientist formulates hypotheses as to what are related functions and predicts what is likely to happen under given circumstances. In the final and crucial phase, he tests his hypotheses and states his generalizations.

Consider, now, the method of the case worker. In the first step, beginning at intake, there is the formulation of a problem—the client's problem. This formulation is arrived at jointly: the client presents his facts, and the case worker, using all his knowledge of human nature and society, brings the problem into sharp focus. This is analogous to the way in which a researcher decides what is the central problem for investigation. Then, having decided what is the central problem in a case, the case worker gathers as many facts as seem to be necessary for throwing further light on it. The methods of collecting these facts have been developed through years of social work practice to increase their reliability. The facts are carefully recorded and scrutinized in order to eliminate such distortions as may be introduced by subjective factors in the worker himself. As facts are being collected, the diagnostic process is ap-

plied, and this may be correlated with the steps of classifying data and formulating hypotheses in the scientific method. Subsequently, there is the step of prediction. In case work the prediction consists of the decision as to how this case should be treated; the decision regarding treatment rests on the formulation that where this is the diagnosis, then the following results may be anticipated from this type of treatment. Finally, as in all science, the hypotheses (diagnoses) are subject to constant testing and revision. Those which have proved their validity through testing in numerous instances are generalized into principles.

In addition to the general approach, which has been compared with the scientific method, the case worker is trained in the use of several tools which serve to assure precision and accuracy in the information gathered. Ignoring for the moment all the specialized knowledge which the social worker has on a number of subjects, such as community resources and public assistance, we may mention three specialties which qualify the social worker for performing these services: interviewing (developed from an understanding of relationships and how to use them); process-recording; and, applied in both skills, a knowledge of dynamic psychology. Wherever a case-study investigation into the nature of man or of his needs is made, these specialties are more or less relied upon. The skilled social worker can modify the interview or the recording to meet the needs of the current investigation. Obviously, a knowledge of dynamic psychology is involved in interviewing, the process of recording, and the analyses of records.

The interview conducted by a trained social case worker is of peculiar value to research from the point of view of both the validity of the data and its effect on

the person interviewed. Furthermore, it is no haphazard procedure which can be conducted according to a simple formula.

Case-work interviewing is a highly disciplined and controlled process. The method of the interview has been developed through the application of psychological principles; it relies on an awareness of relationships and interactions between people. Conscious and controlled handling of the interview situation requires skill, which is acquired only through training combined with experience. The interviewer is aware of what is going on between himself and the person interviewed in terms of personal reactions as well as of the factual information which is being exchanged, and he uses this awareness in formulating his questions or in deciding to be silent. He bases his guidance of the interview on tentative formulations which are made while it is in progress, and he brings out the interviewee's emotions and attitudes so as to understand the forces which move or inhibit him, how he is acted upon by his environment, and how he acts on it. The case worker employs a knowledge of psychodynamics in this process and creates a situation in which the interviewee is able to be relatively self-determining and to express himself freely. This method facilitates a relatively undistorted expression of attitudes; the less distorted the expression of attitudes is, the more precise or valid the inferences drawn from the interview are likely to be.

A working relationship is established from the start when the object of the interview is presented to the interviewee; his reactions to the proposition may or may not be brought into the open. If they are, they may be dealt with: for instance, he may have fears about how the information he gives is to be used. Such questions can usually be satisfactorily

answered. If the reaction is one which cannot be fully disposed of, the interviewer is aware of it in formulating questions during the interview and in gauging reactions.

The working relationship is one of the interviewer's first objectives because it facilitates his securing relatively valid and meaningful data, and it helps to keep the interview within its natural and appropriate bounds. Once this relationship is established, the interview becomes a joint enterprise which will elicit a minimum of defensiveness from the person interviewed. Naturally, the interviewee will bring to the interview situation such defenses as fear of speaking or a desire to impress, which are a part of his personality, and the facts that he gives will be modified accordingly. It is conceivable, for instance, that he might boast of early sexual exploits to impress the interviewer with his masculinity, or he might withhold information about his sexual exploits out of fear of censure. If sexual behavior is the object of research, what he actually did represents the qualitative facts. Ascertaining correctly the qualitative facts cannot be divorced from measurement and is of primary importance in science (and the quantification of qualitative social data is now possible).¹⁸ It is, therefore, the interviewer's task to facilitate the revelation of appropriate qualitative material and to have some way of assaying whether the facts have been distorted in the process.

¹⁸ See Harold D. Lasswell, "A Provisional Classification of Symbol Data," *Psychiatry*, I (May, 1938), 197-204; Ralph K. White, "Black Boy: A Value-Analysis," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLII (October, 1947), 440-61; Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Dynamic and Cognitive Categorization of Qualitative Material. I. General Problems and the Thematic Apperception Test; II. Application to Interviews with Ethnically Prejudiced," *Journal of Psychology*, XXV (April, 1948), 253-60, 261-77.

The trained interviewer avoids arousing defensiveness by a warm acceptance and nonjudgmental attitude and an ability to exclude his own personal needs and problems from the interview. All this, of course, does not eliminate defensiveness or anxiety in the interviewee; it merely reduces it. The case worker can sometimes reduce it still further by recognizing what is giving rise to it; for instance, it is often apparent that some personal feeling about the interview is disturbing the interviewee, and this may block or distort the progress of the interview. When it is recognized, it can often be dealt with so that the interviewee is freer to express himself on the subject which is really the focus of the interview.

The same care which is used in initiating the relationship needs to be continued throughout the interview, for the same reasons. As a new subject is broached, the interviewee may evince a sudden new defensiveness, which should be recognized. It can never be assumed, because a person has been at his ease at one point of the interview, that this condition is continuous. Changes of attitude are recognized by the interviewer, who notes the context in which they occurred and what apparently gave rise to them. This means, for research, that where facts are possibly being distorted, the distortion is recognized and dealt with in the evaluation of the data. Furthermore, control of the relationship in this setting means having an awareness of what is going on at every point in the interview, so that one may anticipate the arousal of anxiety, adapt the questions to the individual, and avoid as much as possible leaving the interviewee suspended at the end of the interview with feelings of anxiety or guilt for having talked too much or with resentment for the interview. A research interview is not the place for

formulating the subject's problem to him, giving him interpretations, or giving him the feeling that he is here to receive help; such activity, in addition to going beyond the bounds of research, would initiate a dependent relationship which would tend to prolong itself. Such activity also tends to arouse emotional reactions in the interviewee which need to be dealt with, whereas the object of a research interview is to obtain information with a minimum of emotional disturbance to the interviewee.

Defenses and anxieties which appear in the course of the interview may tempt the interviewer to deal with them, but the research interviewer is bound not only by the desire to secure valid data but also by awareness of the limited nature of the relationship, which may continue for only an hour or so.¹⁹ Therefore, those approaches are avoided which would be inconsistent with a brief contact; the interviewer carefully avoids the therapeutic or help-seeking relationship which tends to prolong itself—and which the subject himself may seek to establish. As in any brief contact work, the interviewer refers to the appropriate person or agency the person who wishes help with problems that fall outside the scope of the research interview. Thus, by an awareness of what is involved in help-seeking or help-giving, the research social worker is able to avoid entanglements that might prove damaging to the subject but also sees to it that problems which appear during the interview are

¹⁹ Wulf Sachs, in *Black Anger*, gives a good example of an unsuccessful attempt to prolong a research relationship. When circumstances forced a separation between Sachs and his subject, it became apparent that the relationship was a psychoanalytic (therapeutic) one. Psychoanalysts often maintain that their work is in the nature of research. The relationship seems, however, to go beyond the bounds of what is required for most research purposes alone.

appropriately handled. An untrained person is easily lured into the trap of trying to handle problems beyond his abilities and the limits of the interview.

To approach defenses or anxieties may directly initiate a therapeutic interview. For example, if the interviewer is inquiring into the patient's relationships with those he works with, the description he gives will be accepted. An intellectual man, who relates very poorly to people, says he always eats lunch alone because it would interrupt his train of thought if he were to talk at lunch time. This is a defense, apparently, against being friendly with people; but the patient in this case would undoubtedly become anxious and resentful if the interviewer should attempt to get at the feelings he is hiding (from himself as well as from the interviewer). His relationship to the interviewer would become less one of working on the research problem than one of handling his feelings about his lunch periods—proving something to the interviewer or finding out something more about himself, or getting rid of his resentment. The interviewer would then have to shift from research to a more therapeutic type of relationship. At the same time, if the patient has a strong reaction to such an approach to his defenses, there is a proportionate likelihood that information which he gives subsequent to this will be colored by his feelings. He may become relatively inarticulate or tend to distort facts to suit what he thinks the interviewer is looking for, in order to avoid another such attack on his defenses or to spite the interviewer.

Though the necessity for controlling the relationship is taken for granted in therapeutic or case-work interviews, this is not always recognized in connection with interviews for research. And yet it is clear that, as soon as interviews are in-

troduced into research, the research will be dealing with relationships. The only relationship involved may be the one between the interviewer and the interviewee, if the interview is concerned with an impersonal subject. More often, however, the interview will concern itself with problems which themselves involve relationships, e.g., the interviewee's adjustment in various situations or his life-history. The interviewer may need for purposes of research to be aware of the interviewee's attitude toward himself and toward others; under all circumstances he must consider how the interviewee's attitude toward the interview is affecting the information that he gives.

Research in the social sciences uses interviewing when either biographical or situational data are needed. In problems that demand an understanding of the personal dynamics of subjects, variations of the life-history may be required. In other studies, subjects' reactions to a specific experimental situation may be called for. In their practice case workers have become familiar with both types of problem—obtaining a social history or examining with a client his situational reactions on a new job, etc.

When the researcher is studying cultural phenomena, such as the effects of caste and class on southern urban Negro youth, or a sociopsychological problem like the concomitants and etiology of antidemocratic attitudes, use is made of interviews for biographical data. Life-history data are essential, too, whenever a researcher needs to know what his subjects bring of themselves as unique persons to an experimental or field-study situation.

In some investigations, subjects' reactions to, or perception of, the experimental setting may be required. How did the boys' club members feel about the auto-

cratic leader, the democratic leader, and the laissez faire leader of their group? What were their reactions to other members of the group and to their own work under each type of leader? Interviews of subjects' reactions to specific situations are an important research tool. That feelings of subjects may run high around experimental situations is demonstrated, for example, in Muzafer Sherif's report on the reactions of a subject in his investigation on the formation of norms and attitudes.²⁰ Needless to say, such feelings must be dealt with in research interviews if data obtained are to be valid. And without these interviews many research problems cannot be solved.

Skill in obtaining both biographical and situational data is an integral part of case-work practice. The case worker's interview is likely to be quite intensive. In the directed interview of some sociologists and public opinion interviewers, the level of interviewing is likely to be extensive rather than intensive. For example, the likes and dislikes of large numbers of people may be sought. We learn from them how many favor child labor amendments or oppose trade with Russia. With few exceptions, such as in the work of Likert and others,²¹ it is not their objective to discover, nor is their skill aimed at finding out, what the questions really mean to those interviewed. The social case worker, by contrast, should be able to understand why a client is protective of children or fearful of certain foreign countries. It would seem that this very

understanding of the meaning of attitudes and relationships is needed by the social sciences to make their data meaningful and to insure that they give accurate, relatively valid answers to the questions they study.

When it is suggested that intensive interviewing may be done by the social scientist, a difference between his and the case worker's qualifications for use of this technique may be crucial. The case worker, trained as a helping person, is fully aware of the dependent relationship that might be fostered and the feelings that may be aroused when an interviewer investigates personal aspects of the life of another. The researcher who fails to define clearly his own role, not only to his subject but also to himself, may easily find himself in a help-giving relationship—which he may not be qualified to fulfill—or facing interviewees' resistances which may impede the completion of his study. Likewise, the interviewer who is not aware of himself may unconsciously and unnecessarily hurt or disturb interviewees through his probing or his lack of preparation of subjects for what is to follow—and then not know what to do about the consequences. The case worker in his daily practice has learned to define the areas in which his competence for helping others lies and does not go beyond them; he also is trained to be aware of self; and he knows how to work through resistances which are situational and how to leave alone those which are deep seated. He is able to sense anxieties and can avoid arousing them or help interviewees with minimal harm to themselves to handle them. Most important, he can enter an interview as a researcher with a working acceptance of his own role in the situation. Precisely because the case worker is experienced as a helping person is he less likely to confuse is-

²⁰ "Group Influences upon the Formation of Norms and Attitudes," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, ed. T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1947), p. 88.

²¹ See D. W. MacKinnon, "The Use of Clinical Methods in Social Psychology," *Journal of Social Issues*, II (November, 1946), 47-54; and Angus Campbell (ed.), "Measuring Public Attitudes," *Journal of Social Issues*, 11 (May, 1946), 1-66.

sues in a research interview; it is his training and experience in helping which especially enables the case worker to maintain a relationship with subjects that is both effective for purposes of a dynamic research and of minimal harm to interviewees. Because the social worker knows something about how to help others, he can avoid getting into a relationship in which a subject may seek or expect more help than a research interview situation is designed to provide. What is most important, however, is that data obtained with understanding and concern for the subjects are more likely to be precise and reliable for research purposes.

Process-recording used in the training of social workers is likewise an instrument utilizable in obtaining more scientifically accurate results. Wherever the interview method is used, it is necessary to separate out the influence of the interviewer: Will another person, reading the same interview, arrive at the same conclusions about its meaning? Did the social worker during the interview determine the results either by showing a bias, by putting the subject on the defensive, or by some analogous misstep? Process-recording, showing how the subject has responded to specific questions or comments, provides an opportunity to test the validity of one's findings.

Process-recording, moreover, reveals the subject's attitude toward the interviewer. This attitude is of basic importance in any research involving people, since it is the framework within which other facts are revealed and must be evaluated. It makes a vast difference, for example, whether the subject is trying to brag of his exploits, to make a fool of the investigator in discussing his sexual experiences, or is being really co-operative. It is equally important to know what the

interviewer may have done to provoke such responses. As in all scientific recording, a faithful presentation should reveal all relevant phenomena; the social worker as a participant observer has been trained to include observations on his own behavior in the recording of a situation in which he obviously plays a large part.

Qualifications of the case worker for contributing to sociopsychological and clinical research may be summarized as (1) experience in a practice that is essentially scientific in method, (2) specific skill in interviewing and process-recording, and (3) understandings that have been drawn into practice from a body of knowledge, based not only on what is uniquely social work knowledge but also on all the social sciences. Among the former is the understanding of a working-together-to-some-purpose relationship which implies knowledge that it must be adapted to the reality situation, in this instance a research investigation.

APPLICATION OF QUALIFICATIONS

An example of the application of social work skills and knowledge in a research setting appears on the Group Psychotherapy Research Project. In this study of the processes and effects of group psychotherapy the authors function as members of a clinical research team. Their findings are co-ordinated with those of the research psychologists and of the psychiatrists in evaluating changes in the patient which occur during the time he is in therapy and in predicting his behavior in groups and the type of treatment apparently most suited to him. They assume the function of observer of groups interchangeably with the psychologists. The case workers' individual interviews with patients are on their initial and post-therapy relationships with people

and on their reactions in the groups. In addition, the interviewing skills of the case workers are employed in interviewing doctors after group meetings.

The patients in the therapy groups under study are either clinical outpatients or hospitalized schizophrenics. The therapists are all psychiatrists. The case workers are researchers and have no treatment functions. Their work as researchers includes (1) the interviewing of patients, (2) the observation of groups, (3) the process-recording of the group meetings that they observe, (4) subsequent analyses of their records, including the formulation and reformulation of hypotheses, and (5) participation in the planning and modifications of research procedures in staff conferences and seminars.

The purpose of the research interview with the patient is to obtain a portrait of the patient in his daily living such that it can be compared with another portrait obtained after a period of therapy, and to evaluate the qualitative changes that have occurred in the patient's pattern of living in the interim. The authors designed an interview which focuses not on the patient's problem but on his ways of relating to others in all the various areas of his life—at home, at work, with friends, and with himself when he is alone. The interview deals with present-day relationships but goes back into the past where this seems necessary for an understanding of the present. For example, since the patients interviewed are veterans, their experiences with other men in service are very enlightening; they show how these men got along with a gang of other men, with those in authority over them, or with those under them and what type of experience tends to assume prominence in their memories—e.g., transfer from one company to an-

other may be remembered more vividly than what occurred in any one company.

The regular clinic social worker holds the intake interview with the patient before he is seen by the research social worker. The research interview is held, whenever possible, before the patient sees the doctor or before he begins group therapy. Reinterviews take place at intervals of about ten months or at the point of discharge.

A second type of interview is held after the patient has been in the therapy group for five meetings or so, in order to obtain his initial reactions to the group; from these interviews we learn how the patients are initially affected by the group, what is helpful to them and what is not. In reinterviews we get the patients' changes in reactions to the changing group, and these data give us important insights into the processes of group therapy.²²

In evolving this interview, the case workers combined their knowledge of dynamics (what to look for in the interview); limitations of the relationship to the interviewer so that it would naturally terminate with the interview; and handling of some problems that came up in the interview by appropriate referrals. Proper handling of the interview safeguards the interests of the research project in securing valid data without damage to the subject. The interview is guided to the extent necessary to achieve our purposes but is not a strictly directed or guided interview. It therefore procures the facts about the patient's experiences, attitudes, and relationships which must be available before one can safely generalize about the patient. It provides retrospective data on the patients' percep-

²² Content, method, and uses of this interview are described in a forthcoming monograph on our methodology for research in group psychotherapy.

tions of and reactions to what went on in the group and outside the group situation.

The interview with the therapist after the group meeting aims to analyze with him what happened in the meeting in order to add to our understanding of group therapy. It includes consideration of his feelings about the group and himself in it, his goals for the group and individual patients, and his activities in the group as well as those of the patients. Skill in interviewing again comes into play; in order to interview the doctor, the observer must respect the doctor's emotional needs after a strenuous group session, without losing sight of the focus of the interview. In evaluations of meetings and speculations about them, it is necessary to be aware of one's self, eliminating the bias which might arise from preconceived ideas or rivalry with the therapist. Strict role definition, the social worker as researcher and the doctor as therapist and co-researcher, has enabled us to maintain the research as the focus of the interview.

Process-recording is used for both the interviews and the accounts of group meetings. Although everything can never be recorded, this method does imply an attempt to cover nonverbal as well as verbal events and to include data on all the observable phenomena in the situation apparently relevant to the therapeutic process. When the time comes to analyze the record, the significant events should be there. The patient is responding to a situation in which the interviewer or other group members stimulate him. In order to analyze facts about the individual patient or about the group, it is necessary to be able to separate out the factors which lead up to a particular response. For instance, if in a group meeting a patient is asked with whom he eats

lunch and the patient replies by talking of something apparently extraneous, then the record must be examined for the hidden relations between his comment and either the subject of inquiry or his reactions to group. This requires a full record.

It should be possible for one or more persons who were not present at the interview or group meeting to analyze the record and come to the same conclusions regarding the patient interviewed or the events of the meeting. The record should, moreover, be sufficiently inclusive to permit the researcher to analyze the data again and again from various points of view.

The social worker's most evident contributions to this research may be summarized: an interview with patients which will be helpful both in gauging the effectiveness of group therapy for particular patients and in determining the advantages, shortcomings, and possible improvements in this method of therapy; an interview, being a flexible instrument, that can be studied from different points of view for predictions of how the patients are likely to react in group situations and what therapeutic approach seems most likely to succeed with them; and a method of recording both interviews and group meetings that provides accounts from which inferences may be drawn by researchers who were not witnesses to the event. In addition, in making their contributions to the development of methods of analyzing the data, to seminars of the research team, in conferences with the doctors and innumerable informal discussions, the social workers draw upon their social work training and experience. To the extent that their contributions are helpful to the research and to the extent that the research results in improved methods of

helping patients with their emotional problems—to such an extent have the social workers in this research been helpful to man-with-problems.

In the strictest sense, in this research the social workers are contributing to medical and psychiatric knowledge. The findings, however, should be of value to all clinicians and to social psychologists, as the inferences on group psychotherapeutic data yield understanding not only of therapeutic procedures but also of group and individual dynamics. Out of these data in their broadest use, increased understandings of interpersonal relations and methods of re-education may emerge. What the social workers contribute here are their case-work skills—interviewing, process-recording, and a working use of dynamic psychology—and understandings arising out of experiences with people of varying cultural

backgrounds, under differing community pressures, with unique problems and maladapted behavior patterns. On the research team the use of different disciplines provides a multiple approach to the problem, enriches the theorizing, and broadens the bases for findings. Incidentally, the all too wide gap between research and practice is temporarily bridged, resulting in each discipline's bringing new insights back to practice and in gains for research also. We refer to this experience, although only in a brief and superficial way, to indicate the kinds of contributions the trained social case worker can make to research, as well as the advantage which other disciplines may find in teamwork with the case worker in research.

GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY RESEARCH PROJECT
WILLIAM ALANSON WHITE PSYCHIATRIC
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WASHINGTON, D.C.

AN EXPERIMENT IN CASE WORK BY THE GROUP PROCESS

VIRGINIA MATTHEWS

IN EVERY barrio in the Philippines after the day's work is finished and light fades from the sky, the men gather under the spreading mango or by the path that leads to the rice paddy. There they squat on their haunches and talk over the day's happenings, listen to the news someone has brought from the town, express their hopes and fears, and find courage to laugh at misfortunes for which there is no remedy.

In the Twentieth Station Hospital, where the entire detachment is Philippine Scout and where better than 50 per cent of the patient personnel is also Filipino, the same custom of communal sharing of the day's joys and sorrows prevails. We are not blessed with a mango tree, but the eastern side of a long narrow ward is a shield from the setting sun. These after-chow sessions have been noted by the social worker going back to her office after bed-patient visiting.

Recognizing the naturalness of this self-planned recreation, the social worker recalled another observation she had made distinguishing the Scout patient from the G.I., namely, the instant appearance at any program even faintly "educational." She had thought: "The recreation workers are utilizing the Scouts' tremendous eagerness to 'learn'; is there also opportunity here for social service to extend its scope?" Thus the two observations provided setting and means for a new experiment: case work by the group process.

At first the worker's presence in the ward-side groups was purposely casual. She merely dropped by and, appreciating

the Filipino's natural disregard for time, showed no hurry and merely stayed a while. She discovered that the patients' talk was not entirely idle, that many problems, common to them all, came up for discussion: matters of hospital routine, postdischarge plans, even discussion and comparison of symptoms of their illnesses. Sometimes a magazine article or news topics from the *Manila Times*, which is purchased regularly by the Scout patients, provoked comment. Because of the Scouts' deep admiration for things American and their avid interest in the comparison of our cultures, the worker's point of view was often sought. "But in the States, Mum?" they would inquire; and, with the solemn courtesy so characteristic of the Filipino, they would invariably say: "The States' way, Mum, that is best." This attitude the worker did not encourage but did not dispute. Later, as they became aware of her genuine interest in and acceptance of Filipino custom and practice, she was in a better position to emphasize more pragmatic reasoning: if anything proved useful or good in Philippine life, then whether or not it patterned itself after occidental custom and thought was not necessarily pertinent. Comparisons continued to be drawn, but variances did not always demand defense.

The extension of use of these discussion groups, begun thus casually, was most fruitful on the tuberculosis wards, where patient personnel was composed entirely of Philippine Scouts (G.I.'s being evacuated to the United States almost immediately upon diagnosis). Two

additional factors on these wards contributed to the efficacy of the method: one, the strict isolation from other patients gave this group a solidarity of feeling that the worker was quick to turn to advantage; and, second, thus restricted, variance of any sort from the day's monotony, even a doctor's scolding about ward discipline, was counted diversionary. These tuberculosis wards were like a quiet forest pool, any pebble dropped into this placid surface provoked ever widening circles.

The worker spent considerable time in assaying this patient group, its unities and its divergences, in order to determine how best to use this new relationship. Here were soldiers of all ages, from Aquino, the restless nineteen-year-old ex-ballplayer, to Tubo, with thirty-seven years' Army service behind him. Their educational backgrounds were at great variance: the older men had learned English in the Army itself, and their vocabularies were limited almost exclusively to military terminology; the young Scouts had had advantage of the educational system established in the Islands by the Americans and often seemed more at ease expressing themselves in English than in their native dialects. The only tongue common to them all was English, for Tagalog, the national language, is not spoken in the outlying provinces. There was also a wide difference in their cultural backgrounds. Alzaga disclaimed being a Moro and yet had grown up in a predominantly Mohammedan community. After he knew the worker better and felt secure in her acceptance, he told her that his mother was "born a heathen." Ngayan, allegedly Ilocano on his Army records, one day told the worker about years spent in one of the mountain provinces where the native costume is a G-string and where

intertribal head-hunting, though governmentally discouraged, is, reportedly, still practiced. The lowland Filipino was represented and also the Manila-bred Scout, sharp with city manners and way of reasoning scarcely distinguishable from the American. Even in the matter of their feelings about their common illness, there was great divergence: some of the patients had been in and out of hospitals for several years; a few had been in this same ward for twelve, fifteen, or sixteen months; others had come in only recently and were still bewildered by, afraid of, and defensively hostile toward hospital routines.

In searching for a common denominator, the worker re-examined her first observations: the Filipino's liking to talk, his ready sympathy and interest in another's problems, his avid thirst for knowledge, his conviction that the American pattern was worthy of imitation. What subjects, then, might be introduced into the discussions that would give direction and purpose to these group meetings?

The first topics tried were ones to which every patient, presumably, might have something to contribute. The informality and casualness of the "mango-tree setting," the worker felt, should be preserved.

Politics, on barrio, province, and national levels; the present agrarian revolt, the Hukbalahap and other radical movements; public health program in the Islands; the place of the Filipina woman in the home, the professions, and politics—these and many other general-interest topics were discussed. The February 14, 1948, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, copies of which the worker had purposely supplied in advance, provoked one of the most interesting "studies," to quote a patient. An article on the Philippines to-

day, the new nation's problems and its future, started the ball rolling. When the worker left the group, the pros and cons were still flying thick and fast.

At first the worker's position in the group was passive. She was an interested "listener." She was the one being "informed." She often asked for clarification of points she did not understand. She encouraged the Scouts to express their varying views, to think through the argument according to their own experiences and backgrounds. Everyone's opinions, she implied, were worth hearing. She observed that as acceptance of her as a listener increased, they edited their opinions less and less to conform to American views but found expression instead in the light of their individual cultures.

After the worker's presence in the group no longer occasioned surprise and aroused no reservations of comment and after group participation included even the shy newcomers to the ward or the old Scout who depended on a fellow-Visayan to translate his contributions, the worker felt that the group relationship might be used conversely, with the worker as the "informer" and patients the "listeners." So, occasionally, as the need arose, problems relating to their presence in the hospital and common to a predominate number of the group were brought up for discussion. One session was on veterans' rights, since every month a number of patients leave this ward either as disability dischargees or as disability retirements. The rights applied to the "new Scouts," i.e., the ones enlisted after October 6, 1945, as compared to those of the old Philippine Scout of longer service, were differentiated. Not only the rights of the veteran himself but also the benefits for his dependents were outlined. There grew out of these discussions other topics relating to military procedures and

regulations which had current interest for the soldier: his reinstatement of National Service Life Insurance, which had been automatically canceled at the time of his transfer from Army of the United States to Philippine Scouts in the summer of 1946; his eligibility for arrears in pay for guerrilla service during the "Japanese time"; the provisions of family allowances paid retroactively for the time of service in the Army. Usually these topics were brought up by the patients themselves, initial discussion frequently indicated referral to our personnel officer or adjutant, and then later a second survey of the topic was made. The feeling that, on restricted patient status, no one was interested in looking after their military affairs, was very effectively dissipated. From such discussions as these many individual case records developed.

One day the patients told the worker that a speech had been made to them, while she was away on leave, by our chief of medicine. He had explained the nature of tuberculosis, its cause, course, treatment, and care. He had also spoken briefly regarding the precautions necessary after the patient had been discharged and returned to his own household. Following the talk, he had presented each patient with a mimeographed copy of the main points of his speech. The patients were obviously appreciative of this doctor's interest; they showed the much prized pamphlets to the worker. In the talk that followed, however, the worker discovered that they had misunderstood some of the doctor's advice. They were convinced that the doctor had thought it inadvisable for anyone who had had tuberculosis ever to marry. The family has deep significance for every Filipino; this was a future too bleak to accept easily. They were also confused with respect to the postdis-

charge precautions mentioned and apprehensive as to what their relationship with other members of the household should be.

In the meantime a new ward medical officer had been assigned, and the worker sensed the patients' reluctance to discuss their perplexities with him. She listened carefully to their interpretation of the booklet's advice, then assembled the points that needed medical clarification. She could and did assure the patients of the new doctor's interest and of his willingness, if he but knew their concern, to explain any points not clear to them. The worker had already known of the ward officer's earnest desire, shared by the chief of X-ray service, that any members of a patient's immediate household who visited him at our hospital should report to our X-ray department for free chest examination. She could also support the former chief of medicine's stand in his original talk to the patients, i.e., that as they left the hospital and returned to their home communities, each was, in his own way, an agent for the dissemination of information regarding this illness and its care. She pointed out that each veteran could help pioneer in the nationwide campaign now going on for the control and alleviation of this scourge of the Philippines.

As follow-up for this particular discussion the worker reported her findings to the ward medical officer. The points which needed clarification were outlined and a date set when the doctor also could be present at the group discussion and conduct a question-and-answer period. This second meeting was held, and the doctor used this opportunity to explain the purpose of X-rays for other members of patients' families and told how this could be arranged. Not only factual information but better working relation-

ships between doctor, patients, and social worker developed from this meeting.

Questions of hospital routine were often brought up by the patients. One day the difference in criteria for determining pass eligibility in able-bodied and in patient status was discussed, with the patients themselves thinking through to the "why" most of their own requests had been refused. Convalescent furloughs, their intent and purpose, were propelled into front-line attention one day when a patient, only recently on the more seriously ill ward, was given thirty-day leave to his home in northern Luzon. The ward officer had suggested this topic to the worker, for he had been beset by requests beginning, "My family needs me to come home, sir, because. . . ." It was evident that Onate's furlough had a personal implication for almost every other patient. The doctor had explained each refusal on a personal basis, but he thought interpretation to the group might add support and alleviate the individual resentments aroused. The subject was introduced to the group on an impersonal basis; again the worker led the patients themselves to reason out the "whys." They were quick to see that the family situation, in a hospital setting, did not determine eligibility. The doctor later expressed his opinion that these discussions had a salubrious effect on ward morale.

The experimental period of this group method has now passed. Its immediate benefits were so apparent that it became a regular part of each week's program. But only after a more careful evaluation of this process was made did the real and substantial gains achieve significance. We have found that far more than the original intent has been realized.

The first, and most obvious, good derived is that interpretation on an individ-

ual basis has been strengthened and supported by the group discussions. Seeds have sprouted more quickly in ground that has been broken and kept tilled. This has been especially true in working with the prospective veterans. In such cases the worker is interpreting procedures which are complicated and confusing: Army and Veterans Administration regulations are not easily understood even by the G.I.; and, with the language barrier for the Scout, it has been a process of interpretation and reinterpretation, requiring endless interviews. Through group work, however, the veteran knows which individual problems concern him, and he has solved or clarified these many weeks in advance of the date of his actual Army discharge. The individual interview then is confined to the personal plans of the Scout for the re-establishment of himself as a civilian.

It is likewise obvious, when the gains are surveyed, that the worker herself has profited immeasurably by these group discussions. Alien herself to this setting, a greater and deeper awareness of the culture of the Scouts has increased her scope of help. She has added factual information to her stores, and also she has learned much about Filipino ways of reasoning, has noted the overtones of superstition that color their thinking, and has seen the illustration of racial differences which must be taken into account if fair judgments are to be reached.

The major benefit from this experiment has been in the establishment of individual relationships by reason of knowing one another first in the group. The worker has felt that these meetings have been a sort of bridge which both she and the patients could use toward reaching rapport. It has proved useful in getting to know the older men who are extremely limited in their comprehension and use of

English. It has also been efficacious in the case of the timid young Scout whose insecurity makes him defensive toward any proffered help.

Tubo had been on the ward several weeks, and the worker had stopped beside his bed to talk with him, just as she did with every patient. She learned about his admission for disability-retirement processing, suspected that he was proud of his many years of Army service. He bobbed friendly agreement with her comments but answered her queries in monosyllables. She doubted that he understood her function on the ward, and it was apparent that his lack of comprehension of English was embarrassing to him. He never initiated a question or asked a service. Then one day, during a discussion, the worker noted Tubo on the edge of the group, listening in. She observed him making occasional comments in dialect to his "companion." Through this fellow-patient, whom the worker had known for many months, Tubo, in spite of the language difficulties, was drawn into the discussion. Since then it has become a common thing for dialect to intervene and for one of the patients, with complete unself-consciousness, to interpret, "He says such and such, Mum." The flow between the languages has not stopped the discussion, merely extended it.

Shortly after the foregoing group talk, Tubo and the same companion came to ask the worker's help. Tubo had a personal problem which he wanted his friend to interpret to the worker. He was concerned about the welfare of his motherless children, whom he had been accustomed to provide for on his bimonthly passes to Manila. They were in the care of an old lady, but the commissary card was usable only by him, the purchase of clothing and staple items had always

been his privilege and responsibility, and he had not anticipated the need for making any further plans. And now the doctor had told him there would be no passes from the hospital! Anxiety lined his face and needed no verbal expression.

A solution satisfactory to this worried father was worked out, and from this day forth Tubo was no longer a "stranger" on the ward. True, no further serious problems have arisen, but he has come of his own accord to inquire of the worker regarding procedures for applying for retroactive family allowance, has evinced interest in recreational activities on the ward and indicated his own individual tastes, has requested small services such as the purchase of money orders, and is a better adjusted and happier patient than during those earlier weeks. Inasmuch as disability retirements are often delayed in processing, the relationship may well have deeper significance as his hospitalization continues.

Canillas presented an entirely different problem to the worker. Very young, very shy, he was known to the worker chiefly as "the new patient with the wide smile." His timidity was so exaggerated that conversations were almost painful; he obviously wanted to please the worker, but a smile was as much an "answer" as he could manage. Rather than increase his embarrassment, the worker decided to try getting acquainted through the group process. She encouraged his participation, at first merely recognizing his presence in the group, later directing a question his way when the argument was fairly general. She has watched his self-confidence increase. He has not as yet led any discussion, but he is participating without direct invitation. She has found him intelligent, eager to contribute information about his home place, its customs, pursuits, etc. As yet he has never

sought individual help and perhaps never will; but the foundations of understanding are there if the need to build on them should arise.

And, last, a wholly unanticipated gain through group work is just now being recognized: the effect this method has had on the long-term patient whom the worker had felt she already knew and with whom a working relationship had already been established. A case in point is Alaba, twenty-nine years old, single, a member of our armed forces since 1938. Before his hospital admission he had already contemplated leaving the service in order to avail himself of the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights. He wished to complete his medical education and to work among his own people in the province of Ilocos Norte. Granted American citizenship through the Army, he had even dreamed of the possibility of securing this education in the United States. His father had been a leading educator in Luzon, and his death, during the war, was a loss to which his son is not yet reconciled. Alaba felt that his father had died for want of good medical attention, and he had determined to become a doctor in order to carry on, in another field of service, the same humanitarian ideals and precepts established by his father. He told the worker very earnestly that it was not for the financial security medicine promised but in order that he could work with and for his people that he had chosen to take this step.

Admission to our hospital was for pneumonia; the diagnosis of tuberculosis was a tremendous shock to him. He called it a "living death," was inconsolable, and was actively hostile toward the hospital and staff. The case-recording throughout the months shows the painfully slow process by which this patient has reached acceptance of his illness.

Group work has proved of invaluable aid. Alaba's superior intelligence and fine educational background have assured him the leadership of the discussions on Philippine problems. By temperament he is self-effacing, quiet, and reserved. He has proved his ability for drawing others into the discussion without ever seeming to take the floor himself. He has gained much in self-assurance by thus planning for and helping the other patients. With this new confidence in himself has come an increased capacity for insight into his own motivations and needs. He has been able to see the projection into the future of this leadership exhibited on the ward. The idea that ex-patients, by reason of their having suffered the disease, were in a position to pioneer in their home communities in its control and alleviation was a subject that caught his immediate enthusiasm. He has become one of the most dependable, interested, happy, and well-adjusted patients on the ward. And he is getting well and planning for the day when his "work" begins.

Another old-timer on the ward, who soon will mark the yearly anniversary of his admission, has found in the group discussions and in the opportunity to interpret to other patients and to act as liaison with the worker in reporting their

misunderstandings or perplexities a usefulness and *raison d'être* that has made his long wait more bearable. Medically he was able to leave the hospital many months ago, but a confusion in Army records necessary to disability-retirement processing has held him here. A reading of the entire case history discloses the change from a seeker of help to an interpreter of information and a source of referral. The worker's dependence on him has given meaning, even in his patient's status, to the stripes he earned for his sleeve. The "sergeant" relishes his position as our "right-hand man."

To summarize, it has been our experience that the social worker's use of the group method has improved the morale of the ward, has served as a time-saving means of interpretation of general-interest topics, and has promoted better relationships between doctor, patients, and social worker. But it is also being used, as was the primary intent, for the extension of the scope of help to the individual. It has been the means of learning to know the new patients, but it has also been a support and development of the long-term relationships. In the setting provided by our hospital we believe it has proved its usefulness.

DALLAS, TEXAS

EXPERIENCE OF A FAMILY AGENCY IN CO-OPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WITH DAY NURSERIES

HILDE LANDENBERGER HOCHWALD

DAY-NURSERY care for small children has come to play an important part as a resource in family management. With growing demands on their services, day nurseries have become increasingly aware of their responsibilities, not only for the children under their care, but also toward the families with whom they are working. In this process they have recognized that case-work service as an integral part of their program would be of great value to their clients. As a result, some day nurseries have requested family agencies to furnish such service to their clients on a co-operative basis.

The following study is concerned with the experience of the St. Louis Family and Children's Service, which, for approximately five years, has been giving case-work service to three independent day nurseries. It is hoped that the review of this experience may furnish some basis for evaluating this service both in its potentialities and in its limitations.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The three day nurseries with which the agency has been collaborating are members of the Community Chest and the Social Planning Council. They differ in their origin, historical development, and administrative setup.

Two of the three nurseries, Riverside and Fairground day nurseries,¹ are located closely together in an old congested poor neighborhood of rooming-houses

and small residential dwellings near the downtown area.

Riverside Day Nursery, approximately sixty years old, was founded by a church group to meet the needs of working mothers. It is housed in its own building and managed by a board which appoints the day-nursery director. She is the head teacher of the day nursery and also in charge of administrative responsibilities.

Fairground Day Nursery is part of an old settlement house and has also functioned in the neighborhood for a long time. The person in charge of the nursery is responsible to the director of the settlement house.

The third day nursery, Parkview, was founded during the war. Parkview Day Nursery Association grew out of a loosely integrated group of interested lay people which had gathered around the person of a nursery teacher. This group had operated in two other nursery-school settings and then decided to found its own nursery. It located itself in a neighborhood which linked middle-class residential districts with the business sections of the city. It first operated in a loaned building and later on purchased its own home.

In 1942 and 1943 representatives of family agencies and of day nurseries had been working together to study the war-time needs for day care of children in a committee under the auspices of the Social Planning Council. It was after this joint experience that, within a short period of time, Riverside Day Nursery,

¹ The names of the nurseries are fictitious.

Fairground Day Nursery, and the newly founded Parkview Day Nursery requested case-work service from the St. Louis Family and Children's Service. In all three cases the agreement between the family agency and the nursery was the same. It stipulated that the agency was to take responsibility for the following services to day-nursery clients: (1) the application service and (2) the settlement of the fee on a sliding scale (a) in the application process and (b) in the process of reviewing situations with day-nursery clients who seemed to be in need of fee adjustment.

In carrying out the agreement, the agency assigned responsibility for service to day-nursery clients to the district offices in which the day nurseries were located. For this work the agency furnished its office facilities and clerical services with the exception that the day nurseries occasionally arranged for interviewing space in their buildings at the case worker's request.

The agency kept records on day-nursery clients which were set up and protected in the same way as records on other clients. They were not available to the day nursery. The nurseries kept their own records. They consisted of the nursery application blank, which was filled in by the case worker, the child's medical record, and sometimes some notes of the nursery teachers on the child's behavior in the nursery. The nursery application blank contained, besides face-sheet data, information regarding the client's family composition, housing, occupation, and income, and some developmental and health history of the child for whom placement was requested. Owing to lack of clerical services, the day nurseries kept their records in a very informal way.

In the initial period of the agency's working relationship with the day nurs-

eries, the district supervisors were in charge of the total service. After some months they delegated this work to some of their staff members, and the pattern evolved that one case worker under supervision of her district supervisor was assigned to serving clients of one day nursery. However, there were intermittent periods in which all staff members shared in the service to day-nursery clients.

Some efforts have been made to estimate the case-work time absorbed by the giving of service to one day nursery. Service to a day nursery has never been set up as a full-time assignment, and case workers have varied in estimates of time given to this job from one-fourth to five-sevenths of their total time. Some variations in these estimates can be explained by seasonal and other fluctuations in the flow of applications, but they also reflect that case workers needed to allot their time to the day nurseries in relation to pressures from their other assignments.

It was clear that its agreement to give case-work service to day-nursery clients committed the agency to put time and effort in developing and maintaining a working relationship with the day nurseries. Agency contacts with the day nurseries were on two levels; namely, contacts with board members and/or other administrative representatives of the day nursery and contacts with the director or head teacher of the day nursery.

Agency contacts with day-nursery board members or administrative representatives other than day-nursery directors were limited and irregular.

In the beginning of the agency relationship with the day nurseries, the district supervisors had various meetings with board members of the day nurseries and the director of the settlement house,

respectively, to discuss questions of policy both in general and in their application to particular situations. Some of these meetings included the day-nursery director and the case worker to whom the service to the day nursery had been delegated. These contacts tapered off after a few months. At some later time the board members of Riverside Day Nursery requested a meeting with the district supervisor and the nursery case worker because they had become concerned about the apparent prosperity of some of their clients and felt the need to re-evaluate their function and fee policy with this new type of clientele. The director of Parkview Day Nursery initiated a joint meeting between some of her board members and the director of case work, the district supervisor, and the nursery case worker to discuss the purchase of a new building for the nursery and the expansion of its program.

The core of the relationship between the nurseries and the agency was incontacts with the day-nursery directors, and the task to maintain these contacts on a regular current basis devolved on the case worker. The case worker shared her clients with the day-nursery teacher, and their joint services to the same group of people created the need for frequent consultation. It became the prevailing practice that the case worker had one weekly conference with the day-nursery teacher, which was supplemented by telephone conversations during the week.

In carrying on her relationship with the day-nursery teacher, the case worker had to adjust herself to working with the representative of another occupational group. She had to make some effort to understand the occupational concerns, interests, and outlook of day-nursery teachers. She had to realize that the day-nursery teacher's approach to the client

was guided by her concern for the child under her care and therefore legitimately different from her own. Moreover, she had to orient herself toward the current managerial problems of the day nursery, such as questions of personnel, equipment, and budget. In turn, she had to interpret and demonstrate to the day-nursery teacher how her own skills could be utilized to give more meaning and value to the services of the day nursery. The case worker's problem was complicated by the fact that, owing to lack of educational standards for day-nursery teachers, she often had to deal in succession with people of very unequal background in education and experience.

In the give-and-take process between case workers and day-nursery teachers, the case worker had to cope with the day-nursery teacher's natural ambivalence toward her participation in the day-nursery service. The day-nursery teacher recognized that the case worker relieved her of some responsibilities that she was not qualified to handle and thus permitted her to be more effective in her own work, yet she also found it awkward and uncomfortable at times to share control with an outside person over the conditions under which, and the persons to whom, she gave service.

Case worker and day-nursery teacher had to work out their co-operation in some way that was most acceptable to both of them and most helpful to their clients. They were helped by the fact that the interagency agreement on which this collaboration was based was lacking in specifics. In translating it into practice, both of them had some leeway in adapting it to their mutual wishes which sprang from the dynamics of the situation as well as from the dynamics of their personalities.

THE APPLICATION SERVICE

At the time when the agency entered into its co-operative agreement with the day nurseries, they were not very specific in their policy of admission. According to their tradition and philosophy, the two old day nurseries were committed to taking care of children whose mothers needed to work for the support of the family. In practice, their head teachers were arbitrary in their intake decisions, even in terms of the ages of the children whom they took in for care, and were quite casual about the admission process itself. Parkview Day Nursery came into existence during the war and in line with wartime needs also thought of the care of children of working mothers as its primary responsibility. But its head teacher had developed her program for children from two to five years and kept her intake within these age limits. Moreover, she held the conviction that a carefully devised process of admission is an integral part of a well-organized day nursery.

When the agency took over the application service, it clarified with the day nurseries their eligibility requirements in terms of the children's ages and medical care. The three day nurseries varied in the ages of the children of whom each of them could take care, but they were uniform in their medical requirements, which consisted of a general physical examination, smallpox vaccination, diphtheria immunization, and a throat culture.

The nurseries did not attempt to lay down any other eligibility requirements. They kept their traditional emphasis on service to working mothers, which was in line with wartime community demands, but were also willing to admit applicants in other situations.

In order to build up their prestige and to balance their budget, they were main-

ly concerned about being filled to capacity and were not interested in limiting their intake to certain categories of clients.

Through her handling of the application service the decision about the admission of applicants in terms of their social situations thus devolved on the case worker; but with the day nurseries' pressure for full enrolment and the community's acceptance of day-nursery care as evidence of adequate and responsible parental planning, the case worker had no reason to question the applicant's request in terms of his or her need for service as long as there were vacancies in the nursery. But if applications surpassed available vacancies, which was the prevailing situation in the nurseries during most of the time, the case worker had to select clients according to their relative need for service. She had to develop diagnostic skills which enabled her to determine in which situations nursery care was most necessary and most effective.²

In the handling of the day-nursery applicants, the case worker made commitments that were to be carried out by the day nursery. She therefore needed to have a current and detailed picture of what the day nursery was able to offer in terms of available placement and regular services and what care or attention it might be expected to give to individual situations with special problems. In turn she needed to keep the day-nursery teacher informed about volume of intake and nature and background of requests for service.

In dealing with individual situations, the case worker had the responsibility of preparing clients and day-nursery teach-

² Criteria for day-nursery intake have been treated in a previous paper: "Case-Work Service in Day-Nursery Intake," *Social Service Review*, XXI, 500-506.

er for their mutual working with each other. She had to give to the clients some description of the day-nursery service and especially to pass on to them whatever special information the day-nursery teacher wanted them to have before their first contact with the day nursery. On the other hand, she had to give to the day-nursery teacher whatever information she wanted or needed to have about the client. She routinely passed on some essential data by filling in the day-nursery applicant blank and often amplified this information in personal conferences with the day-nursery teacher, especially if she had to prepare her for some special problem.

But her working relationship with the day-nursery teacher did not free the case worker from her responsibility to protect the client's confidence, and this created difficulties if the client had given her information which was relevant in relation to the day nursery but which she might not have given to the day-nursery teacher. This sometimes pertained to information regarding the application blank, such as, for instance, the client's status as an unmarried mother or the fact that the child was not by the present marriage. In those instances a discussion with the client of what she wanted the day-nursery teacher to know about the situation and what she was anxious to have kept confidential usually helped the case worker to cope with the situation.

With the agency participating in it, the application and admission process for the three day nurseries developed certain similarities, although there remained some important differences.

As a rule, applicants for day-nursery service made their first inquiry at the day nursery. The day-nursery teacher sometimes gave them some cursory information but usually directed them to

the case worker for detailed discussion of their request. The case worker's initial contact with the applicant usually was by telephone. This gave opportunity for some exchange of information which helped the case worker and the applicant to decide whether it was worth while to pursue the application. Some sifting over the telephone was particularly helpful in times of high day-nursery enrolment and very selective intake.

In the application interview the case worker tried to gain sufficient knowledge and understanding of the applicant's situation to evaluate his or her need for the service and capacity to use it constructively. That implied that she gathered some basic social information which she also needed to fill in the application blank and discussed the applicant's reason for his or her request for service, and she was the more thorough in this discussion the more she needed to be selective in the assignment of vacancies. She also tried to get some picture of the child for whom placement was wanted in terms of his physical, mental, and emotional development. On the basis of this information, she mostly could decide in the first interview whether she could offer to the applicant a place in the nursery. Only if there was some complicating factor in the situation such as, for instance, some health or emotional problem of the child to be placed, she usually set up a longer exploratory process. On the other hand, the case worker passed on to the applicant what the applicant wished or needed to know in order to make up his or her mind about the day-nursery plan. The applicant, too, usually reached a decision as a result of the first interview, although it not uncommonly happened that this decision was reversed before the child's admission to the day nursery. But if applicants indicated uncertainties about

the use of the nursery, they mostly related them to questions about the expediency of the plan rather than to any deeper conflicts with which they might need case-work help; and, on the whole, it seemed that consideration of day-nursery care did not stir up deep anxieties in the majority of people who were thinking about it.

The case worker had to work out some way of dealing with applicants in case of full enrolment in the day nursery. For all day nurseries, the keeping of waiting lists had proved impractical, since most applicants were looking for some immediate plan. As a rule the case worker passed on to the applicants whatever information she had about prospective vacancies and left with them the initiative to renew their inquiry after a certain time. In the rare cases of emergency applications, case workers always seemed able to enlist the co-operation of day-nursery teachers to the extent that they were willing to take in an extra child.

For the two old day nurseries, the application service of the agency was the only formalized part of their admission process. The day-nursery teachers received from the case workers the filled-in application blank and from the parents or directly from medical sources certificates of the child's negative throat culture, vaccination, and diphtheria immunizations, as well as the report of a general physical examination. After that, they were ready to accept the child in the day nursery any time at the parents' convenience. As a result, it occurred that children were brought in when the head teacher was not in attendance and that there were slipups in the checking of their medical records. To remedy the situation, the director of Riverside Day Nursery requested the case worker to verify the applicant's compliance with the med-

ical requirements of the day nursery before sending through her approval of the application. In carrying out this request, the case worker added to the application process a second interview with the client which gave the client the opportunity to produce the required medical information. It was also often utilized for further discussion of other factors in the situation. At the case worker's suggestion this modified application process was also taken over by Fairground Day Nursery.

Moreover, the case worker introduced the idea that parents and children would profit from visiting the day nursery and getting acquainted with its staff and children prior to the child's induction; and, as a result, both Riverside Day Nursery and Fairground Day Nursery set aside some time for informal visiting of new parents and children but did not insist that this be part of the admission process.

At the request of Riverside Day Nursery, the case worker later on added another interview with the client after a month of his use of the day nursery to find out how the plan was working out.

For the clients of Parkview Day Nursery the application service of the agency only was the first phase of the process of their admission to the day nursery. After the case worker's approval of the application, clients were scheduled for an appointment with the day-nursery teacher. In this interview the day-nursery teacher obtained her own history of the child's background and development and discussed with the parent routines, regulations, and medical requirements of the day nursery. Then she took responsibility for seeing to it that they were carried out. Her interview inevitably duplicated the discussion of some of the material that had been covered in the preceding

case-work interview, but with variance in focus and approach. The day-nursery director also adhered to the plan that children should be taken into the day nursery by gradual induction which builds up their attendance from a few hours the first day to full time after about a week. And she decided with the parent the exact timing of this plan. The case worker only entered into this planning if she wanted to dissuade the day-nursery teacher from the plan of gradual induction because immediate full-time care for the child was needed for urgent social reasons.

The case worker had no further follow-up contact with the applicant but routinely discussed the adjustment to the day nursery of the client and child in her conferences with the day-nursery teacher.

The co-operative agreement between the agency and the day nurseries did not assign to the case worker any function in relation to the termination of nursery service; but her handling of applications sometimes drew her into some planning for the termination of the service.

In times of full enrolment and urgent requests for service, the case worker sometimes consulted with the day-nursery teacher whether vacancies could be created by terminating service to applicants who did not seem to be in urgent need of day-nursery care. This sometimes resulted in reviews of situations in terms of their need for continued service; but, unless there was voluntary withdrawal of the family, the day-nursery teacher mostly resisted termination of service to families with whom she had developed a working relationship.

Another way in which the case worker entered into planning for the termination of service was that in the application interview she set up the day-nursery plan with the client on a time-limited basis.

Beyond this the case worker some-

times was drawn into the planning for the termination of service with the client if the day-nursery teacher requested the client's withdrawal. This happened, for instance, when one of the day nurseries terminated its program for the care of five-year-old children and requested the case worker to help clients affected by this change in policy with individual plans for the care of their children.

On the whole, co-operation between the family agency and the day nurseries in the application service worked rather smoothly.

At the start of their collaboration with the agency, two of the day nurseries were low in enrolment, and the day-nursery teachers were concerned that their applicants might "get lost" when being sent on to the district office for their application interview. In order to avoid this, they often made personal referrals of applicants who came to make inquiries at the day nursery and insisted on immediate appointments for them. But in their experience with the agency they learned that applications through the agency which expected applicants to show some consistency and put forth some effort in order to initiate the day-nursery plan tended to sift out those who were inconsistent and unable to put forth the daily effort needed to sustain the plan. In this way they learned to look at the agency application service as a factor that stabilized the day-nursery population.

But, for the most part, applications for all the three nurseries surpassed available vacancies, and day-nursery teachers were assured of full enrolment. Under those circumstances day-nursery teachers had no time or interest to get involved with their applicants prior to their referral to the case worker, and, since they were not acquainted with any of them, they also had no stake in their final selection. They gladly accepted the case worker's shield-

ing them from the work and responsibility connected with the choosing and rejecting. At the same time, the day-nursery teachers felt challenged by particularly difficult situations and, as a rule, responded favorably if consulted by the case-worker about their readiness to take them on.

SERVICES RELATED TO FEE DETERMINATION

Prior to their co-operation with the agency, the two old day nurseries had made a nominal and flexible charge on a daily basis and in accordance with the parents' ability to pay. But they had been lax and casual in its settlement and collection.

At the time of entering into their co-operative agreement with the agency, the day nurseries were in the process of building up their program, and their increasing cost aroused their interest in exploring fees as a potential source of income. This interest was encouraged in their consultation with the family agency, which made them aware of the significance of fees for their client's self-respect and responsible use of the service. In accordance with their tradition of service to underprivileged families, the day nurseries at first expected only a very moderate fee; but their thinking was somewhat changed when, with the influx of war workers, they experienced a rise in the economic level of their population.

The three day nurseries adopted the policy of setting a top fee on a weekly basis which could be adjusted on a sliding scale in relation to the client's ability to pay.

At the start of their co-operation with the agency, Riverside Day Nursery and Fairground Day Nursery, in a carry-over of their tradition of charity, set their top

fee at about half the cost of the care of the child. Parkview Day Nursery decided on a higher top fee, which approximated cost.

But the increasing cost of operating the day nurseries and the rising income level of day-nursery clients kept the adequacy of the top fee as an open issue before the eyes of case workers and day-nursery representatives. Both became increasingly aware that the need for day-nursery service was not necessarily concomitant with financial distress and questioned the validity of using community funds for a service which, as a rule, permitted parents to increase their income and for which they were well able to pay.

The director of Parkview Day Nursery shared the philosophy that parents, in relation to their ability, should be held responsible for the cost of the care of their children, and, while the top fee of the nursery was permitted for some time to lag behind the rising price and wage level, she became increasingly concerned about this problem, especially since there was no prospect of additional appropriations for day nurseries from community funds. At that point she and the case worker entered into a new computation of the cost of the service; they revised the top fee upward to equal per capita cost on the basis of the nursery budget. Their budget did not include a charge for housing, since the nursery had their building donated to them, and in this sense the top fee still was subsidized.

The two old day nurseries were slower to adapt themselves to the philosophy of parental responsibility for the cost of nursery care. While they were not ready to revise their top fee, they went along with the case worker's practice to charge cost instead of the top fee to some families with particularly high incomes. This

practice had the disadvantage of setting aside some clients for special treatment and of leaving a rather wide gap between them and those who paid the top fee, which was not leveled off by a sliding scale. It was liquidated when the nurseries were ready to accept cost as their new top fee.

The agreement between the family agency and the day nurseries defined the settlement of the fee on a sliding scale as a case-work responsibility.

The day nurseries had not set up policies which related fee adjustment to income, standard budget, or other factors in the client's situation. In the absence of some general guide, case workers were left to determine fees through individual discussion of the client's budget. They usually proceeded to list with the client his or her current expenditures and to compute fees from the differential of income and expenditures. In using this approach, case workers were prone to give full weight to what clients presented as their budgetary needs. If they did this, they implicitly permitted the client to determine which expenditures should have precedence over payments to the nursery and thus fell in line with the client's attitudes toward those payments which ranged from self-sacrifice to exploitation.

Some case workers influenced the clients' presentation of budgetary material by encouraging or discouraging them from including certain items. In this way, they introduced their own attitudes toward nursery payments as another element in fee determination, and as a result fee-charging practices varied from case worker to case worker.

This mode of fee determination resulted in fee structures which were inequitable, inasmuch as fee differentials did not closely correspond to income differ-

entials and were not warranted by other objective factors in the situation of day-nursery clients. This situation caused concern because it seemed inherently unjust and arbitrary and because it was likely to cause bad feelings among nursery clients when they compared their fees.

In order to improve this situation, the case worker and day-nursery teacher of Parkview Day Nursery at the time of the revision of their top fee to equal per capita cost also introduced the use of a standard budget for fee determination so that fees of all nursery clients would be set on a comparable basis. This approach to the fee problem also embodied the idea that the nursery fee was to be paid immediately after the family had taken care of its essential maintenance expenditures; and in this way nursery fees, while not being equalized as to their amount, were given equal rank in family budgets. This pattern of fee determination was not meant to preclude the possibility of deviating arrangements, but it served to make case worker and client conscious of the exceptional character of such arrangements and led them to evaluate carefully whether they were needed.

The case worker worked at the settlement of the nursery fee as part of the application process. If she found the client's financial situation to be stable and stationary, she determined the fee for an indefinite time. But not uncommonly clients anticipated changes in income as a result of the nursery plan, typically in the case of mothers who expected to go to work, or they presented other irregularities in their pattern of earning and spending. In that event the case worker often settled the fee on a time-limited basis with the understanding that, after this time, it would be changed automatically to some predetermined amount or, in

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case of more indefinite factors in the client's situation, be subject to a review.

Case workers and day-nursery teachers were agreed on the value of periodic reviews of fees of all day-nursery clients. But case workers could not make themselves sufficiently available to assume this responsibility as part of their regular service to the day nurseries. There were some special occasions when a case worker made a fee review of the total nursery population. This was done, for instance, when the new top fee and the standard budget as a guide for fee determination were introduced at Parkview Day Nursery.

Fee reviews, for the most part, were made as they seemed needed in individual situations, and only if case worker, day-nursery teacher, or client took responsibility for initiating the process.

The case worker lost contact with most nursery clients after the application process. She kept in touch only with the few with whom she was involved in a treatment process. She mostly had a rather intimate knowledge of their situation, which enabled her to rediscuss with them the nursery fee, often as an integral part of treatment, and in case some change was indicated she discussed this with the day-nursery teacher.

On the other hand, the day-nursery teacher had a current, if superficial, knowledge of the situation of most day-nursery clients. She often was aware of important events in the family, such as marital difficulties, illnesses, or changes in employment, or noticed such outward signs of affluence or deprivation as, on the one hand, new cars or other luxuries, or, on the other hand, poor clothing or undernourishment of clients and their children. If her observation aroused her concern about the fee, she would discuss it with the case worker and in consulta-

tion with her often arrived at the decision that the client should be referred to her for a review of the fee.

Sometimes clients took the responsibility for requesting a fee adjustment which happened both when they felt that they could not afford the present rate or when they had improved their situation to such an extent that they could offer bigger payments. Often clients first discussed their request with the day-nursery teacher and were referred to the case worker by her. But sometimes clients who had established a relationship with the case worker, either in the intake process or in the course of later contacts, would directly get in touch with her. In that event, the case worker would consult about the request with the day-nursery teacher simultaneously to handling it with the client.

The co-operative agreement between the agency and the day nursery did not cover case-work service for financial adjustments other than the fee rate.

Actually the day nurseries had to deal with two other problems of financial adjustment. One was the refunding or crediting of part of the weekly fee in case the child was out during part of the week for which the fee had been prepaid. The other was the charging of a fee to hold the place of the child in the nursery in case he was out for a vacation, on account of illness, or for some other reason. Day-nursery teachers occasionally consulted with their case workers about some general way in which these problems could be handled; but, because of the many factors that may enter into a child's absence from the day nursery, they proved incapable of some simple solution. As a result, day nurseries did not arrive at general policies or procedures, but the day-nursery teachers handled situations as they came up and

on an individual basis. As a rule, they worked out their own solution with the client, but, if they found the client's situation involved or his or her attitude difficult to deal with, they occasionally referred the client to the case worker in order to work out the financial adjustment.

Co-operation between the agency and the day nurseries in relation to the settlement of the fee presented some difficulties. They were basically due to the fact that the case worker, while relieving the day-nursery teacher of a large responsibility, also infringed upon an area in which the day-nursery teacher had a big stake of her own. The case worker's settlement of the fee affected the income with which the day-nursery teacher had to balance her budget. It affected the client with whom the day-nursery teacher had a working relationship. Therefore, the day-nursery teacher had a keen reaction to the case worker's settlement of the fee, and her feelings were kept alive because she remained in charge of the collection.

The day-nursery teacher had some basis on which to evaluate the adequacy of the case worker's determination of fee. Her daily contacts with day-nursery clients gave her some access to the client's life which the case worker did not have and some judgment of her own about their financial capacity. Sometimes her observations permitted a realistic appraisal of the client's situation, but at other times they led her to overlook some less tangible factors to which the case worker had given consideration.

Moreover, the day-nursery teacher, especially at the point of collection, was exposed to the clients' attitudes about their fees and sometimes pressed by their request to pay either less or more. She was particularly vulnerable to the client's pressures if she was in sympathy

with the request or threatened by what the client might do if the request was not granted. This was true, for instance, if the client indicated some intention to remove from the day nursery a child to whom the day-nursery teacher was attached and who, she felt, needed her care.

In some instances the day-nursery teacher expressed her dissatisfaction about the fee to the case worker, and in that event case worker and day-nursery teacher could exchange their ideas about the fee and either come to agree that the settlement was valid or that it was in need of review. But in other instances the day-nursery teacher took it upon herself to invalidate the case worker's fee determination and to work out with the client an upward or downward adjustment of the fee. This was most likely to happen if the day-nursery teacher was dealing with an insistent or impatient client with whom she wished to assert her own authority, but the case worker's limited availability to the day nursery and the delay in any decision worked out with her furnished an additional motive for her proceeding independently.

It also happened that the day-nursery teacher invalidated the case worker's settlement of the client's fee through the more subtle process of granting the client credit in order "to help him out in some temporary emergency." In these instances the client rarely had any reality basis to expect that he would be able to take care of his debt. But the day-nursery teacher fell in line with his overoptimistic expectations of his future financial capacities and thus "protected" him from a referral to the case worker to discuss fees on a more realistic basis. But if the client could not catch up with his debt, the day-nursery teacher eventually got into a difficult position because she had to account for uncollected fees, and it often was at that point that she turned

to the case worker for help with the collection.

CASE-WORK SERVICE TO DAY-NURSEY CLIENTS

The co-operative agreement between family agency and the day nurseries entrusted to the case worker the administration of another tangible resource. Like the control of the other resources at her disposal, it gave her access to a new group of clients and some opportunity to offer to them case-work service.

The clients whom the case worker reached through her service to the day nursery had in common that their request for or use of the day-nursery plan did not place them in the category of "maladjusted" people. In line with the prevailing trends of thought in the community, most of them looked at day-nursery care as a normal and adequate way of dealing with their situation or working out their chosen pattern of living. Among the clients of the day nursery were many people who were well adjusted in their personal relationships and capable of the management of their financial affairs. There were young couples who achieved a better balance in their marriage by sharing economic and household responsibilities or who wanted to reach better living standards or to overcome a temporary financial impasse through the mother's going to work. There were women who found satisfaction in carrying on a job or a career in addition to their family responsibilities and did so with the approval and support of their husbands. In many cases the parents' concern for the child's need for playmates and play space was the main or an additional motive in their use of the day nursery.

On the other hand, there were clients who needed the day-nursery plan because they had difficulties in their per-

sonal relationships or in other areas of their life. There were couples with irregular work habits or disorganized finances who hoped to solve their problem through the mother's going to work. There were mothers who needed to support themselves and their children either because of an incompetent husband or a broken home. There were mothers who needed release from the care of their children either because of their own emotional problems or the behavior problems of their children. But whatever their problems the clients who decided to solve their situation by going to work and taking care of their children with the help of the day nursery took over a strenuous job and showed considerable strength if they were able to carry through on it for any length of time. Some clients came to the day nursery after having worked through their acute crisis and with the help of the day-nursery plan were able to make arrangements which gave them some security and satisfaction. Others found in the day-nursery plan only a partial solution to their problems and were left with anxieties and emotional maladjustments.

The case worker's responsibilities in relation to the day-nursery plan opened up for her some avenues of approach to the client's problem. Sometimes case worker and client recognized some problem of common concern in the application interview and immediately set up some plan for its treatment. This was likely to happen if the client's problem raised some question about the suitability of the day-nursery plan, and in these situations exploration of the appropriateness of this plan necessarily addressed itself to, and implied treatment for, the client's underlying difficulty. This was true, for instance, if parents applied for day-nursery care as a remedy for the child's behavior problem and if, in the

case-work process following the application, exploration and treatment were focused on the parent-child relationship.

Sometimes the case worker recognized in the first interview that the client had some problem which seemed to be accessible to case-work treatment but found that the client was not yet ready for treatment, especially since the problem had no bearing on the application process. But it happened that the client had gained confidence in the case worker and some feel of the help that she might get from her and for this reason sought opportunity for further contacts. Often she sought out some concrete business in relation to the day nursery to request another interview with the case worker in which she then opened up some broader area in which she would like help.

This was true, for instance, of a woman who came in to make application for nursery care and discussed her marital and financial problems as a background for her request. Some weeks after her child's admission to the day nursery, she returned to the case worker for another appointment, ostensibly to discuss readjustment of the fee, but she went on to talk about her marital problems and to request help with them. This initiated a series of contacts with the case worker in which she received help with her personal problems, and the case-work treatment lasted beyond the time that she used the day nursery.

In other situations the initiative for further contacts rested with the case worker. She mostly could suggest further contacts with the client in order to discuss the client's adjustment to the day nursery in general or in relation to some specific problem, and, in so doing, she sometimes could get access to the client's other difficulties. This was done, for instance, in the case of one woman who made application for day-nursery care

for her two small children shortly after her divorce. She was very much upset about the breakdown of her marriage, her loss of financial security, and was uncertain as to how to handle her relationship to her children but too pressed to address herself to any one of those problems. A few weeks later, and after relief of some of her pressures through the use of the day nursery, the case worker invited her for another interview in order to learn how the plan was working out for her. In this interview the client brought out some of her difficulties in the handling of her children, and, as a result, some plan of continued contacts was set up with her. With the easing of the client's problems, these contacts gradually tapered off, but the client continued to use the day nursery.

Sometimes the client's need for case-work service was picked up by the day-nursery teacher, who then in turn brought it to the case worker's attention. This happened if the day-nursery teacher became aware of some maladjustment or abuse in the client's use of the day nursery—such as lack of punctuality in taking or picking up the child, lack of regularity in the child's attendance, or tardiness in the payment of the fee—which seemed so persistent or grave that it suggested some bigger underlying problem in the client's life. The same held true if the day-nursery teacher found that a child under her care showed signs of neglect or reflected in his behavior some maladjustment in his home. One day-nursery teacher, for instance, became concerned about a child who seemed to be retarded and to whom she could not offer proper care and about another child who periodically became abusive of other children, apparently due to the intermittent presence in the home of a drunken and abusive father.

The day-nursery teacher also would

occasionally refer clients who came to her in order to tell her their troubles or in order to request her to help them with their personal problems. This was brought out in the case of one woman who, at a time when she was out of work on account of an accident, would make it a habit to come to the day nursery at lunch time in order to be asked to participate in the meal and who also requested the day-nursery teacher to take care of her child personally, after the nursery hours.

In her treatment of day-nursery clients the case worker moved in a triangle which included the day-nursery teacher, since the relationship between client and day-nursery teacher, as well as her own relationship with the day-nursery teacher, were of actual or potential relevance to the case-work process.

The day-nursery teacher's relationship with her clients was essentially authoritative. As the person in control of the day nursery and in charge of the clients' children, she laid down regulations for the clients' use of the day nursery and made rules for their children's care which sometimes involved advice regarding their handling at home. But the threatening aspects of this authority rarely gained the upper hand. To most clients the day-nursery teacher was a kindly and familiar person who shared with them their worries over the care of their children and who also showed maternal concern for their own troubles.

The client's relationship with the day-nursery teacher was basic to his or her adjustment to the day-nursery plan. It therefore was of importance to the content and progress of case-work treatment which mostly centered around the same problems for which the client sought some partial solution through the use of the day nursery.

Moreover, it seemed that only very

well-organized clients could recognize the division of functions between case worker and day-nursery teacher and appropriately relate to each of them. With more disturbed clients their relationship with and feelings toward the day-nursery teacher often had some immediate bearing on the way in which they used or were accessible to the case-work relationship.

Some clients were not able to carry the two relationships at the same time. It happened that clients used their relationship with the case worker in order to avoid contacts with the day-nursery teacher and asked the case worker to handle for them whatever problems they needed to work out in relation to the day nursery, and also that clients had distrust of the case-work relationship and brought all their problems to the day-nursery teacher.

Other clients were willing, and even eager, to be simultaneously involved with both case worker and day-nursery teacher, but they confused their functions. In some instances clients treated case worker and day-nursery teacher almost as if they were the same person and spilled over their confidences to whomever they happened to be with. In other instances clients carried on dealings with case worker and day-nursery teacher and made some effort to play them out against each other and to gain special favors from each of them.

In this interplay of relationships, the case worker had to solve the question of whether and how she could use her relationship with the day-nursery teacher as an implement of treatment.

Through her regular conferences with the day-nursery teacher, the case worker usually had opportunity to explore with her her observations of the client's behavior in the day nursery, and in this way she often obtained deeper insight

into the client's problems. In the same process she also frequently passed on to the day-nursery teacher some of her interpretations of the client's difficulties and influenced her in her thinking about and handling of the client, and in this way she sometimes gained her incidental support of the case-work plan.

Beyond this, the case worker in some instances needed the co-operation of the day-nursery teacher as an essential element in the treatment plan. This was true if she wanted to use some problem in the client's adjustment to the day nursery to help the client work out his or her underlying difficulties on some broader basis. For this type of case, the handling of fee adjustments as a means of treatment of the client's financial difficulties furnishes a pertinent illustration. The case worker would need to make fee adjustments in keeping with the development of the total financial planning and would expect the day-nursery teacher to make her collections in accordance with the fee changes necessitated by the progress of her treatment. In practice, this kind of treatment met with obstacles. Day-nursery teachers found it hard to keep pace with movement in the case-work plan and inwardly often had resistance to being instrumental in some plan in which they had no part. This sometimes led to unco-ordinated or contradictory activities and requests on the part of case worker and day-nursery teacher and was very detrimental to the case-work process.

Correlation of thinking and activities between case worker and day-nursery teacher could be more easily achieved if case-work treatment was recognized by both as important for the success of the day-nursery plan. This was typical of cases where a child was placed in the day nursery to obtain help with his behavior problems, while the parents were to re-

ceive case-work treatment to resolve some of their difficulties in their own handling of the child.

In taking on such a child for treatment, the day-nursery teacher made a big investment of her own in the situation and was anxious to see that whatever progress she would be able to make with the child would be preserved in an improved home situation. She therefore mostly was interested in giving full support to the case-work plan and eager to follow the case worker's suggestions for her handling of the parents in the day nursery.

The pattern of co-operation in treatment between case worker and day-nursery teacher reflected the fact that the case worker collaborated with the day-nursery teacher in a consultative capacity which grew out of her functions in relation to the interagency agreement. The case worker's position implied that, whatever influence she had on the day-nursery teacher's handling of the clients, she gained by the day-nursery teacher's voluntary acceptance of her suggestions. Naturally, her suggestions were limited to some specific details in the transactions between day-nursery teacher and client, and the current interchange between them which formed the core of their relationship remained outside her control. The relationship between client and day-nursery teacher could pose problems for the case-work process especially, since client and day-nursery teacher sometimes engaged in discussing the same problems to which the case worker tried to relate herself on a therapeutic basis. But in this it was not different from other social relationships of the client. Like them, it was accessible to case-work treatment if the client wanted help with it but accepted responsibility for working it out.

ST. LOUIS FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S SERVICE

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE ROLE OF THE FACULTY REPRESENTATIVE IN FIELD WORK

LOIS SENTMAN

WITH the student, the school, and the agency sharing responsibility co-operatively for the learning experience of the student, what part does the faculty representative play in this triangle? The writer, new to the responsibility of faculty representative,¹ found that, in spite of the fact that a wealth of experience has been gained by schools of social work using various types of field work, the literature in the field of social work training is meager regarding the function of the faculty representative. Although there are some distinct differences between the block and the concurrent plans, particularly in that under the concurrent plan the student spends part of each week in field work and part in the classroom, whereas in the block plan he is engaged in field work full time, there seems to be general agreement that the principles involved in supervision of field work under either plan are essentially the same.

In the hope of contributing to a clarification of the function of the faculty representative, let us examine the experience of the writer, a new faculty representative in one school of social work, the West Virginia University Department of Social Work, which has been using block field work. This school provides a year of graduate study leading to a certificate in

social work. The year consists of two semesters followed by a summer session of six weeks—a total of ten and one-half months.

Following a period of study on the campus for the first semester, the student engages in block field work for his second semester. To ease the shock of the sudden shift from campus classes to agency field work, the school gives the student continuous preparation throughout his first semester as well as several final orientation sessions on the campus immediately preceding the student's appearance at the agency. The school-agency plan provides also for orientation sessions in the agency during the first weeks of field work.

The school has made certain provisions for insuring the continuity of the contact between the school and the student, the foremost of which is a monthly visit of the faculty representative to confer with the student and the agency supervisor. As a supplementary contact, the student is required to write a letter monthly to the faculty representative, giving a concise description of the case situations, the social work activities in which he has engaged in the community, and any other developments in his field-work experience he selects to relate. The student must also read professional literature as outside reading four hours each week and submit brief comments indicating why each reading was chosen and what value it was in understanding a given case or other aspect of social work.

¹ The term "faculty representative" is used here in accordance with Report No. 920, "Study of Administrative Aspects of Field Work," American Association of Schools of Social Work, to refer to the person having responsibility for liaison work between the school and the field-work agency.

It has been found that the highest quality of skill and co-operation is required in the school-agency relationship to make the field-work experience most meaningful for the student. With the limitations of time, and often distance as well, the school needs to define the separate responsibilities of the student, school, and agency, or, in Miss Marcus' words, to "professionalize its structure, administration and service to accord with its reason for being."² Without such clearly defined and developed structure, the educational progress of the student is hampered. If, for instance, the school considers it necessary for the agency supervisor to keep records of her supervisory conferences with the student in order to discuss the process with the faculty representative, such a requirement should be clearly understood by both the school and the agency prior to placement of the student. Another such requirement may be that the student have the experience of learning to use process recording in his field-work training. When the requirements are defined and clarified by mutual understanding, each participant is enabled to know what is expected of him and is then free to decide whether to continue in his function.

FACULTY REPRESENTATIVE AND THE STUDENT

The faculty representative in making her monthly visits to the agency needs to keep in mind her primary function of facilitating the learning process of the student, for otherwise her role may be confused with that of the agency supervisor. The most frequently occurring example of this is the attempt of the student to receive case supervision from the faculty representative. One student came to his conference with the faculty repre-

sentative armed with a notebook and poised pencil systematically to review each case and to record the anticipated supervisory help. Another student in his monthly letter wrote: "Perhaps you could give me a little help with this case problem. Miss W. is, of course, helpful, but you could probably supplement her knowledge."

In a short time, however, the faculty representative may successfully clarify with the student that she does not act as an additional case supervisor but instead focuses on co-ordinating for the individual student the knowledge gained in the classroom and in the field. At the point that the student is able to accept and utilize the help of the faculty representative in this role, indications soon appear that he is looking upon the field-work experience as part of his learning process in the field of social work. He talks of the public assistance agency's method of making payments that are less than established need in terms of the various methods discussed the previous semester in his public welfare class. He writes in his monthly letter: "All these problems seemed to overwhelm me at first, but I think that I am now beginning to have a more professional attitude toward my clients."

The faculty representative must be prepared to find that much of the content of the classroom teaching has no immediate expression in the field-work learning of the student. Often the agency supervisor raises questions with the faculty representative regarding the content of the school curriculum because the student appears totally unable to summon to his command what he has previously "learned" and to apply it to the current field-work situation. One student expressed this lack of integration in his monthly letter as follows:

² Grace Marcus, "Family Casework in 1948," *Journal of Social Casework*, July, 1948, p. 269.

Many things have happened this week, foremost of which is my first contact with a psychotic. He was quite upset, and after the interview I was upset also. The most valuable part of the encounter was the comparison of my impressions before and after the interview. Before the interview I thought from his appearance he must be an employee at the agency. Afterward I wondered how I could have been so dumb. Now I know it is impossible to judge mental disorder by physical appearance. Regardless of the books I have read or the lectures I have heard, I still thought the psychotic would conform to my idea of what he should look like. He didn't.

Monthly group meetings of the several students located in the same city have been used as a technique to help the student co-ordinate the content of the classroom courses and the field-work experience. The faculty representative, acting as the discussion leader, utilizes the group process as an additional medium through which to help the student regain his knowledge, attitudes, and values, temporarily lost in his separation from the classroom setting. The student, under the stimulation of the group discussion, by means of re-enacting his previous classroom experience, is enabled to repossess his newly acquired "professional self."

FACULTY REPRESENTATIVE AND THE AGENCY SUPERVISOR

The faculty representative has a responsibility to bring to the relationship with the agency an interpretation of various phases of the student's development in field work, knowledge of the goals and content of the school curriculum, and her best skill in the social work processes.

Group meetings of the faculty representative with the agency supervisors are held, usually at least once each semester, to discuss various field-work policies of the school and more effective ways of working together. Although it is ob-

viously the responsibility of the school to select the students for placement in each agency, the faculty representative reviews with the agency the basis for decision in each instance. It is the school's policy to furnish the identifying information and educational attainment of each student, and in addition the faculty is willing to share its understanding of the student's learning ability in the academic setting but has conviction that the agency supervisor must rely primarily on a knowledge of the student in the dynamics of the supervisory relationship.

The faculty representative in working with the agency supervisor may interpret certain responses of the student as being part of the normal evolutionary growth from those of layman to those of embryonic professional social worker. In the field-work situation students often relate more readily to the passive, undemanding client. As one student wrote: "I find the work in many areas to be quite satisfying, especially so in some of the old age assistance cases. It appears that they are more appreciative or at least are satisfied to get along on less than some of the aid to dependent children cases I have seen." Another example is that beginning students, upon grasping some of the elements of their relationship with the client, become concerned lest their emotional investment interfere with the progress in the case. A student expressed this fear in the following words:

One of my cases which is being sent to you is of particular interest to me. As a matter of fact, I fear I may be taking too personal an interest in the case. . . . She is just one month older than I and I like her. Apparently I need to apply some professional discipline to myself, because her case seems to be more important to me than any of the other cases.

A student with previous social work experience may find it more difficult to adjust to the status of student because of

what seems to him a loss of prestige. One student expressed this feeling by remarking that after seven years of employment as a case worker he received in case-work class only a "C" grade. Block field work carries more devastating potentialities in this regard than does concurrent field work because of the student's separation from his school and consequent weakening of identity as a student. To help the advanced student carry this burden, the school may assist in several ways. If the student has related positively to the other students during his semester on the campus, it might be helpful to place him with one or more students in the same agency. In this way he is known more definitely as one of the field-work students in a learning situation. Again, he may be placed with an agency supervisor who occupies a position of higher rank than the supervisors of the other students. In addition, of course, the school representative interprets to the agency supervisor the need for recognition to be given to the student for his past experience in social work.

How does the faculty representative help the agency supervisor in her supervision of the student? We have discussed earlier how the faculty representative must not encroach upon the province of the agency supervisor by allowing the student to receive direct case supervision. What takes place when the faculty representative confers with the student and with the agency supervisor? How do these conferences facilitate the learning process of the student?

Let us examine the experience of the development of one student in his field-work placement. The first conference of the faculty representative and the student took place three weeks after the beginning of field work. Excerpts from the faculty representative's record of the conference are as follows:

Mr. B. said that he is tremendously pleased with his field-work placement. He is so impressed with the nice building, the fine co-operation of the other departments with Social Service, the competence of the social workers, and the way they keep up with social work literature. He likes the work very much, and he had thought that a large agency like this could not be so efficient as it is. I laughed and said that he does not believe now that the government is always full of red tape and bureaucratic methods, as he had expressed last semester in Public Welfare class. He smiled and said, "No," and he likes his supervisor so much. I remarked, "You're learning a great deal from her?" He replied, "Yes, she's an excellent supervisor."

Here we see how the faculty representative directed the student's enthusiasm for the agency and for the agency supervisor to the educational process, coordinating his field work and classroom learning. Following the conference with Mr. B., the faculty representative had a conference with his agency supervisor. Selected excerpts from the supervisory record follow:

I asked her to tell me how Mr. B. is getting along, and she said he had expressed a great deal of anxiety about making his first home visit. She had reviewed with him what he should say; but he was very anxious, and she finally had to tell him that she couldn't take away his anxiety—he would have to bear some of it. She looked very sympathetic with him while she was telling me this. I said I think it is difficult for a sensitive person, such as Mr. B. is. . . .

I told her Mr. B. is very pleased with his field-work placement. He had said to me that the agency is so efficient, the other departments so co-operative with Social Service, and especially that the agency supervisor, Mrs. M., herself is an excellent supervisor. Mrs. M. seemed very pleased, said she hadn't known what he felt about her, he is so withdrawn. Did I agree with her that he is a withdrawn, sensitive person? I replied, indeed, I did, that I think therefore his potentialities for being hurt are greater but that is the price one pays for being a sensitive person and seeing and feeling more than the average person does. She said she supposed she knew that, that when they discussed his cases it did hurt him. I said

he told me that she and he had torn apart together each sentence of his recording. She said she was interested to know that he had said, "together." She tries to do it as nicely as she can but she knows it does hurt. She felt sorry for him since he has arrived because he has seemed so overwhelmed. I said, for a shy person to come into this large agency, it was difficult to absorb it all; however, she should have seen him in the group meeting this morning. Then he was very poised, most self-assured, and took a great deal of pride in telling the rest of the group about the agency. She was glad to hear that he had spoken up and taken his part. "That is why we have group therapy in this agency," she said.

I continued by saying I wondered if she could think about preparing him for the anxiety that would follow her conferences. She said, yes, she knew occasionally she gets carried away with the work at hand and may give him more than he can absorb and make him feel too anxious. I said, when these occasions occur, could she prepare him as we do in a case-work interview, by summarizing briefly and indicating that later he may think that they have covered a great deal and feel himself too inadequate. She seemed interested in this, indicating in a very responsive fashion that she understood what I meant and would think about trying it.

Assurance and support were given to the agency supervisor by the faculty representative in reporting that Mr. B. is pleased with her supervisory help and with the agency itself. The faculty representative furnishes concrete evidence of her active assistance by suggesting use of a technique to ease Mr. B.'s anxiety.

The following month the faculty representative has her second conference with Mr. B.:

I asked Mr. B. what he had been learning, and he said, "Nothing." I said, "What?" He repeated, he hasn't been learning anything. I was taken aback and I said that seemed hard to believe, was this his idea or did Mrs. M. say that too? He said she didn't say that—she tries to tell him that he has been learning but he doesn't think so. I said was there any possibility that he has been absorbing how to help people so gradually that he hasn't realized he has made progress? He said, no, he didn't

think that was it, he hasn't helped anybody. He knows now that people don't keep their word about things. I said, "What things?" He said one client had said he would come in three different times and he didn't come. Mr. B. also named several other clients who said they would write or call and didn't do so.

One client is alcoholic, and Mr. B. certainly hates to think of him in his tuberculous condition sitting in that terrible jail. If the man had come in for his appointment, he might have been in the hospital by now. He broke his appointments three times. I said, it makes one question how much he wants to get well. Mr. B. said, yes, it did, he knows the man certainly "depends upon his T.B." I said it is very hard for a worker to see a client do that to himself. I know, Mr. B. said. I pursued this by saying that it is always difficult to see someone committing suicide before your very eyes. Mr. B. then told me that he changed a weekly appointment with the man from Fridays to Thursdays because he was so depressed about the man it spoiled his whole week end. I laughed and said, this way you have all day Friday to get over it. He smiled in response and said, "Yes."

Mr. B. said he has recently said to himself, "Do these people need me?" I said it certainly seems that some of them don't want to be helped. Mr. B. said, pronouncing the word with great feeling, "Right."

He then said that Mrs. M. is such a good supervisor, she is so calm when he runs in to see her. . . .

The end of the hour had arrived, and I arose. I said to Mr. B., "Now I'll go in and hear the nice things about you from Mrs. M." He said, "She'll probably tell you to take me back with you." I smiled and said that wasn't the way I heard it last month when I visited.

The faculty representative is immediately alert to the change in the student and focuses the conference upon helping him express his disappointment and sense of failure. At the end of the conference he sums up his feeling by saying that his agency supervisor will say "to take me back with you."

What does the faculty representative do in this crisis? How can she help the agency supervisor, who may not be aware of the student's blocking in learning or may herself be helpless to deal

with it? Let us look at the faculty representative's next conference with the agency supervisor:

Mrs. M. opened the folder of her supervisory conferences with Mr. B., saying it was easier for her to review it with me, and was that all right if she proceeded that way. I said, "Certainly."

She said she had asked Mr. B. why he went into social work. He said he didn't know, he just happened to. I asked, he just drifted into it? She repeated, he just drifted into it. He denied any special reason. I said, often this withdrawn, shy type of personality cannot declare himself as actively wanting anything, it is too frightening a responsibility to want something. She said, yes, he tells her he isn't learning anything and then she reassures him and reassures him all over again. She smiled wearily. I said, it doesn't work. She continued by saying she wanted to talk with me about that. She was looking forward to seeing me today. . . .

She continued telling me about her conferences with Mr. B., saying that they came into conflict when she was trying to get him to be less judgmental and obtain some insight into the client's behavior. At that point he had said to Mrs. M., "I guess my kind of social work is different from your kind." Mrs. M. said she had to say to him that the school had chosen her to be his supervisor and to teach him this social work. Mrs. M. said to me with feeling, "As if there are two kinds of social work!" I replied, "Good, you didn't back down but stated your role." She said it upset her to do so. I commented that it would upset anyone but actually she doesn't have to be his supervisor unless he wants to use her. I continued by saying that she has plenty of workers here (I waved my hand to the outer room where the workers sit) who need her valuable time and anyway, she can't be a good supervisor to him all by herself, all she can do is make her supervision available. Mrs. M. looked surprised and said she knew that something was wrong. I said, you've been carrying him (I held out my hand with the palm up), he'll let you continue to carry him as long as you will, but that will not be a learning experience for him. She said that she would have to say that to him, she can see it now, it will be painful but he has been suffering anyway and this will be less painful in the long run—this experience has to be different for him from every other

one. I related what he told me about changing the appointment from Fridays to Thursdays. She said, he really has been upset.

I then mentioned that he said she was such a good supervisor, she was so calm. She picked this up and said, "I am calm while he is suffering. I will have to tackle this." She said that she had always brought him back to cases when he was complaining about broader issues. She pointed to one supervisory conference in which he heartily blamed another department of the agency for being so authoritative. Mrs. M. had, in the conference, explained to Mr. B. how this procedure grew up. I remarked that it is difficult for a personality like this to express hostility directly, either about a case, or about something else which is close to him, and therefore it seems important for him to have his hostility accepted by the supervisor in whatever way he brings it out. "I denied him that by giving an explanation," Mrs. M. replied. She said she sees it now, there's no point in her continuing to tell me about these supervisory conferences. She closed the folder and said that she'll have to redirect the whole thing. She looked at me saying that I have no idea how much this helped her, she knew she could hardly wait to talk to me but she didn't know just what was wrong. . . .

We see that the agency supervisor was very much aware of the impasse in the learning situation of the student. In fact, she was seeking help from the faculty representative. How did the latter give assistance? First of all, this was done by the faculty representative facing the problem with the agency supervisor, recognizing the necessity for a change in direction of supervision. Did the agency supervisor retreat and ask for reassurance for herself at this point? No, instead she acknowledged the problem, inviting help with it by saying that she wanted to talk with the faculty representative, and plunged into a description of the frustrating elements of the supervisory relationship with Mr. B. Here the faculty representative freed the agency supervisor from her need to be a successful supervisor with Mr. B. If Mr. B. actively resists case-work learning, Mrs. M. does

not have to take responsibility for him, the faculty representative told the agency supervisor. The latter was therefore assured by the representative of the school itself that it is an impossible and even undesirable task to attempt to teach every student however recalcitrant. The agency supervisor is thus released from her self-imposed burden of having assumed not only her own function but that of the student as well.

The following week the faculty representative received a reading report from Mr. B. in which he commented in terms of his own feelings on Bertha Reynolds' *Learning and Teaching in the Practice of Social Work*: "A very readable and interesting book. It is very pleasant to know that other people become as discouraged as I do. I particularly like the chapter on 'Conscious Intelligence and Learning' and the author's understanding of the differences in groups of learners."

The next development is a letter from the agency supervisor to the faculty representative discussing the progress in supervision of the student and seeking further help. The letter is a good example of the co-operation of an agency with the school by long distance:

I told him that he had set one standard of case-work performance for himself and was trying to attain that, while I was trying to teach him case-work concepts as I saw them. Apparently he did not agree with what I was trying to teach, so he was working on his own. I told him this worried me, and I wanted to talk to him to see how this could be worked out. I said I could see now that what I had been doing in supervising him was to try to insist on certain performance when I should have seen that if he was not convinced of my way, then I couldn't be helpful. I said I thought we should now look at things and see where it was that we weren't getting together, and try to work that out with each other.

He responded by saying that two things were different here from the way he expected them to be. (1) At the school everything was

fine—he was there every day with all the students, and went to classes where there were the teachers to take care of things. Here, he is on his own all the time except for three hours a week. He feels so lost and unprotected, because he realizes that if something has to be done, he has to do it. I identified with him on how hard it was to change from the rather protected school atmosphere to an actual agency where things go on quite aside from his learning experience. I asked if he felt I did not give him enough time or guidance. He felt he had enough of this, but the hard thing was to know that ultimately he was the one, not I, who had to accomplish things with his clients.

(2) The second thing he brought out was the fact that when he came here, he wanted to be the best case worker ever and was determined to make no mistakes. Now he finds he has been making mistakes, and he knows he is no good as a case worker, because he has not succeeded in carrying out a plan with any client. If he could just get one client to do as he wants him to do, then he could feel better. I again discussed our focus in case work—that of helping people work out their problems in the way most suitable for them—but he did not feel that was satisfactory enough for him. He then said he realized that what he is trying to do is to fit case work to his ideas, rather than to fit himself to case work. He realizes from all we have told him that that is not the right approach, but he doesn't know whether he can change to that extent. He sees so many things wrong with the world, and how is anything ever going to be changed if the social worker doesn't start with the individual. I agreed with him on that and pointed out that perhaps the only difference between his and my ideas is a matter of timing. He then said he gets irritated with doing things slowly. He is efficient and wants things to be done, snap, snap—he simply is unable to understand why people don't do things that way, because he is able to himself. That's the way the Army was, and he liked it for that reason. I suggested that perhaps I could help him understand why people don't always behave "efficiently," and then perhaps he could be more able to accept their behavior. He doubted if it would be more acceptable to him, even if he did understand it.

I said this did pose a serious problem for both of us to consider. I wondered how I could be helpful to him if he could not be receptive to the ideas of trying to understand things which would help him be the best case worker.

I said I thought he had great potentiality for case work, and I felt responsible for helping develop that potentiality. However, he, too, would have to share in this development.

He then said maybe he didn't belong in case work, and I said perhaps not, if his ideas about people did not agree with the precepts on which case work is based. He then said he guessed he had to lick this thing, because he was convinced he should be a case worker and wanted to remain in training. However, he is disappointed to find that many social workers have little or no social conscience, and perhaps he cannot identify himself with them. I identified strongly with this statement and pointed out that perhaps the profession needs people with more sense of social obligation than many have.

I told him I wanted to try to help him remain in the field if that was what he wanted. If he could only believe that he is learning when I show him this in his own work, then I felt I could help him. However, I felt that he and I could both benefit by his doing additional reading about behavior and the concepts of case work and our discussing it. He did not follow this up and did not ask for reading suggestions.

After this conference was over, I felt I still had not gotten to the root of the problem. I felt he still had not realized that this thing is crucial to his progress in case work.

On Thursday we had a conference around his written evaluation. At that time I think I finally did what I'd been wanting to. I reviewed with him what we had been talking about and brought out more strongly the fact that his progress is at stake. He then brought out the fact that he was concerned about his need to do things one way, even though he knew I was telling him something else. He was glad we were now talking about it, because he couldn't believe he could get along until something was done about it. He said he just had to tell people what to do. I asked why he thought he needed to do this, and he said he guessed it was because he has always wanted to do just that and never had the opportunity until now. I identified with his feeling about this, saying that sometimes feelings like that do pile up inside people when they aren't given the chance for expression, and then they have to come out some time in an intense manner. He thought that was true, and then asked if all social workers had a hard time learning like

this. I recognized with him now how hard it is to look at oneself during the process of learning something like case work. I told him I thought this was almost a universal experience with case workers. He then asked sort of wonderingly if that was really true, and I gave him examples of my own and some of my friend's experiences. This seemed to relax him a great deal.

His attitude in our summing up the conference was that he was being given a big responsibility—that of changing himself, but he felt more able to do it now that he knew I knew about him. He asked me to be sure and show him places where he was following this old pattern, and I told him I certainly would.

I would appreciate your comments on this material. It is detailed, I know, but I wanted to get in the process. In that first interview I didn't tackle the problem of *him*—I was merely talking to him about what happened with his cases while I wanted to talk about him and his reactions. After reflecting on it I could see I was still trying to impose my ideas before I helped him in understanding himself. The second conference I tried to forget *my* stake in the matter, and let him tell me what was wrong, and I think he did.

The faculty representative, in her reply letter, gave assistance by analyzing directly the dynamics of the student's relationship with the agency supervisor:

Will you look at the third paragraph in which you say this poses a serious problem for both of you to consider. At this point you are saying that he has to carry himself in this job of learning case work, and that your share is to make available your supervisory help. What does he do? He retreats and tries to punish you by getting you to carry him because he speaks about not belonging in case work. You did not succumb to this, however, but said in effect, "I am not going to carry you if you're not going to assume responsibility. Therefore, I guess you don't belong in case work." This was a real victory for you, because you have found this so hard to say to him. However, let us see if you held your ground. He then woos you by implying that you and he are social workers with a social conscience and how can you abandon him simply because he refuses to be a case worker like those other case workers who have no social conscience. You were taken in by this and said in effect that

you would carry him "if that was what he wanted." You were begging him to be a good student and absorb the information you were giving him. This would not solve the problem, as you know. The result was that you lost the ground that you had gained.

In the second conference with Mr. B. I agree that you did get together. The reason you did is that for the first time you gave *him* the responsibility and left it there. I believe you are somewhat uneasy because you know it will be difficult for you to continue in your new role. Mr. B., himself, looks forward to the new relationship with you by saying you should "be sure and show him the places where he was following this old pattern."

The next time the faculty representative visited the agency she had a conference with Mr. B., which resulted in a turning point in his field-work experience:

I started the conference by asking whether he's getting along any better than last time. He had difficulty in starting to talk, and I encouraged him by saying that if all of us work together at what is impeding him we may have some success. He then burst out saying, "Mrs. M. knows what she's doing, and I don't know what I'm doing." I asked what made him so certain that she knows exactly what she is doing all the time. He replied that once she says something she doesn't go back to it. It is said by her and it stands. As he was speaking he emphasized the words with an expression of great finality. He broke out again, "I wish she would make a few mistakes once." He went on to say he thinks he is trying too hard to please her. He looked very serious, wrinkled his brow, and seemed to be bending every effort toward understanding this problem. I asked why he was trying so hard to please her. He replied that it's easier to try to please her than trying to buck her. What happens when he tries to buck her? He responded quickly, "Then I'm led right back to the path." What happens when he goes ahead and pleases her? How does his case work turn out then, is it all right? He relaxed visibly saying, "Yes, it turns out fine, she's always right." He looked extremely worried again, shook his head back and forth, and said painfully, "Why can't I take what she says?"

He remarked that he felt like a man at the end of the race. He's afraid to look back while

he's running the race. I asked why he was afraid to look back in the middle of the race inasmuch as we are in the middle of the race now. He replied, "I'm afraid if I look back I'll see that I'm a failure." I commented that he has difficulty seeing an accomplishment of his in the process of being made; why does he have to be so perfect? He said with great feeling, if he doesn't feel satisfied and secure in case work he's certainly not going to stay in it. He just can't take it to find out that he's just like everyone else. I asked if he thought this matter of having to be better than everyone else impeded his learning in field work now. Oh, yes, that's why he can't look back. He then went on to describe how he feels comfortable in interviews only when the client is inferior to him, that he was uncomfortable with a client who had a college education until he observed that the client's grammar was poor. There was a pause. Mr. B. smiled and said, another thing is that he likes to interview women. He smiled more broadly. I asked why he was smiling. He laughed and said he guessed he feels superior to women.

I said I thought that today he had begun to work on what was blocking his case-work learning. I said Mrs. M. and I were concerned with his learning case work but he may want to think further about whether he would prefer some other kind of work such as social action. He asked if everyone is like him, and I replied that each person has to finally choose the type of work for which he is best suited and we could discuss this further when he returns to campus.

Following this conference, the faculty representative reviewed the substance of it with the agency supervisor, and together they discussed Mr. B.'s urgent need for emancipation. It was agreed that because of Mr. B.'s substantial progress in case work, he could now go ahead without Mrs. M.'s direct supervision. This was done successfully in Mr. B.'s fourth and last month of field work. The agency supervisor reported to the faculty representative that "Mr. B. seems to think his need for power may have been related to his wanting to help people and his feeling that they do not always do

what is good for them. He has now found more personal satisfaction in helping people use their own strengths. Also, as his self-confidence and competence have increased, he has recognized that he has less need to dominate situations, because he is not so vulnerable to hurt." Mr. B. in his final letter to the faculty representative summarized his state of development: "I think, perhaps, my field may be case work. I believe with more knowledge I shall find it very challenging. At present I am not secure enough in my knowledge but I do have a realization, at last, that I will learn."

We have seen that the faculty representative needs to be secure in her function as well as in her knowledge and skill of the social work processes. She then acts neither as a case supervisor to the student nor as a case consultant to the agency supervisor but instead permits them freedom to participate within the limits of their own functions.

Acting as a liaison between the agency and the school, the faculty representative

not only interprets to the agency the goals and content of the school curriculum but also relays to the rest of the school faculty pertinent developments taking place in the agencies. In this manner certain modifications in the curriculum or other changes may be made as indicated to better serve the social work profession as a whole.

In summary, we may say that the faculty representative in her relationship to the student and to the agency focuses on the growth of the student. Through her belief in the capacity of the student and in the ability of the agency supervisor she contributes to the student's use of field work. As a representative of the school, she shares with the rest of the faculty, with the field-work agency, and with the student himself the task and privilege of directing his creative learning experience in the profession of social work.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK
WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CONSULTATIVE EXPERIENCE¹

CHARLOTTE G. BABCOCK, M.D.

THIS paper has for its purpose the presentation of a few observations made over a period of five years with social agencies and related groups. Throughout these experiences this consultant has felt that the ideal seminar was that in which the worker could so well present a picture of the client that her report would provide material for full-staff participation in the discussion of the case. This discussion should be aimed at (1) clarifying the dynamic diagnosis; (2) elaborating the dynamics in the personality organization and behavior of the given client; and (3) setting up a plan for therapy or enriching the plan already initiated at the time the case is presented.

Full-staff participation means active discussion from all members of the staff present: workers, supervisors, and students who may attend, as well as guests from other agencies or organizations. Many times valid factors in the total program of the agency have not made this possible. Such factors have been the urgent necessity to present two or three cases briefly, the need to see a client privately, the request of a worker to bring up a special problem in conference with her supervisor, the wisdom of permitting a new worker or a student a longer time for case presentation than is usually given, and the sensing on the part of the consultant that some digression from the case to informative material might be

more helpful than further pursuit of the case material. With full-staff participation, however, the procedure has been to ask the worker to review orally the case material, enriching the written summary with as much additional detail as she can in the presentation period. This makes possible the "coming-alive" of the case in that the subtle feelings and attitudes between worker and client and sometimes worker and supervisor can be portrayed, a most valuable aid to the diagnostic study to follow. It serves the worker in that it often permits her to recognize her own "feel" of and toward the client, her reaction to the client and material. This reaction is not a personal exposure but may be a use of the worker's perceptive devices in addition to her intellectual understanding. Some workers, worried lest they be subjective and "neurotic," tend to believe that they should separate as unworthy and unprofessional how they, as persons, feel and react to the client. Perceptive observation may be as useful diagnostically as cold pieces of factual information.

The verbal presentation is useful as a tool to clarify this diagnostic aspect of the worker-client relationship. It also helps the staff and consultant to make mental notes not only of the factual information given but of the gaps in the material which may or may not give significant diagnostic and therapeutic leads. Material obtained from collaterals is given, and opportunity made for the staff to inquire about missing factual information or to remind themselves again of details that seem unclear. After these pres-

¹ Paper read on May 24, 1949, before the professional staff of the United Charities of Chicago, for which the author has been consultant for the last two years.

entations it has been the policy of this consultant to summarize briefly the material presented in terms of the chronological history of the client, relating pertinent events to significant developmental periods in the life of the client, to indicate two or three of the areas in the presentation that warrant discussion, to answer questions posed by the worker and supervisor, and to raise points that may be useful to the thinking on the case. The staff is then asked to proceed. With some modification this procedure has been used whether or not the case was presented after a one-month contact or a sixteen-month contact with the agency. Obviously the point at which the case is brought makes considerable difference in how the material is condensed and toward what focus it is pointed after the presentation.

In answering the question posed by your committee, "How does the consultant see herself as used by the agency?" the uses fall into a number of large categories which must be known to all of you. These include such things as the following:

1. Assisting in the establishment of a diagnosis, the problem frequently being expressed by the worker in terms of "I don't know what is going on here" or "I don't understand the meaning of the client's behavior" or "There are things in this record that make me uneasy about the level of the client's illness; I don't know how to evaluate them"
2. Assisting in the understanding of the dynamics specific for the given case, seen on the background of general theory
3. Implementing the range of knowledge of psychiatrist and case worker as the multiple meanings of a symptom are studied from case to case, such as the illuminating investigation of the meaning of the pregnancy to five unmarried mothers, reactions to a court proceeding and subsequent placement in four runaway girls, the kind of defenses employed in four comparable instances of marital discord occurring in religiously mixed marriages
4. Stimulating the thinking of the full staff by pointing up problems in either theory or technique
5. Enriching the knowledge of the staff through discussion of a concept or symptom complex
6. Helping to diagnose the character neurosis (the worker may not be in a position to deal with the alteration of the basic character structure; however, if the case is a character disorder and if she is limited to the manipulation of the defenses, it is important that she understand the meaning and use of these defenses within the total character)
7. Assisting in the formulation of treatment plans in terms of both the ideal plan and the plan which is practical with emphasis on both short- and long-term goals
8. Aiding in clarification of plans when other agencies are involved whose program either limits or makes more feasible the plan that seems indicated to the staff
9. Discussion of theory and practice in many technical problems, such as transfer of a client from one worker to another or from one district or agency to another; separation of two members of a family so that each has a worker; or handling two people by the same worker and handling of problems of rapport, transference, and counter transference
10. Occasional discussion of activity with the client which is influenced by the supervisor-worker relationship.

For the most part the consultant has felt that her time and abilities have been used well. It is her impression that one weakness has been the too infrequent rediscussion of cases after a period of therapy has ensued. Many times rediscussion has been scheduled with only the worker and supervisor involved, this course being justified when staff turnover has been so great that several members of the current staff have not heard the initial presentation. However, the plan of devoting a short time to rediscussion after the main case has caused us to lose an excellent opportunity to study therapeutic techniques, problems of timing of interpretation, and discussion of the dynamic processes of therapy at various

levels both environmentally and psychologically.

The continuity and the movement of a case need to be followed specifically. Workers hearing that other workers do well often feel inadequate in their cases because they do not know what the problems of other workers in the continuing case are, how the recommendations from consultation are carried out, and wherein they are impossible to follow. It is in this area, as well as in the area to be discussed shortly, that one may well learn from the experience of others as well as one's self. It might be helpful at intervals to make rediscussion the chief topic for a seminar with the specific purpose that of investigating the nature and progress of the therapy. Cases brought to the consultant for the first time after a long period of therapy have this value also. It is to be noted, however, in the recommendations from the staff to the consultant² that districts wished to have more emphasis on elaboration of treatment procedures. With this request in mind, I should like to turn to the main consideration of this paper, namely, two aspects of case work, that of making a diagnosis and that of presenting a case.

Much that will be said from this point is well known to social workers or is available in the current social work literature. However, emphasis upon these two aspects may be valuable to our theory and practice. What do we mean by "diagnosis?" Historically the term is the label which signifies that the nature of the disease syndrome has been determined. Everyone, whether he is a professional or a lay person, tends to feel better regarding the case when the diagnosis has been established and one knows "what it is"

that the patient has. To make a psychosocial diagnosis is to determine the nature and extent of the disturbance in the life of the person and its relation to the social realities and group behavior patterns significant for that individual. It requires, among other things, an attitude of continuous diagnostic thinking on the part of the therapist, whether that therapist be case worker or psychiatrist. One can only consider a plan that will result in skilled treatment when careful diagnostic thinking early in the contact with the client has been done and when a diagnostic attitude from the point of immediate contact to the termination of therapy is kept active. It has been my impression that, on the whole, good observation of the client with careful attention to the interview content has been done by the case workers. A very sincere effort has been made to create a climate favorable to the establishment of rapport, but often the worker has not thought diagnostically and definitively about the client and his behavior. She has not asked herself what she needs to know about the client in order to be able to help him. Sometimes she does not realize that the maintenance of the rapport is not based on lack of hostility to the worker but is established by the worker's tacit understanding of the basic problem of the client. Good diagnostic thinking does not threaten rapport.³

An example will suffice to illustrate these points. The case of a twenty-year-old married woman who had been seen in biweekly interviews for a period of six months was brought to staff. Referred by a former client, the woman complained of discord in her marriage. Encouraged by the worker, she was able

² In preparation for the staff meeting at which this paper was read, the program committee made a survey of the use of psychiatric consultation in each of its districts.

³ The author wishes to thank Dr. Joan Fleming, Clinical Assistant Professor of Psychiatry, the University of Illinois Medical School, for her suggestions for this section.

to define this as a sexual disturbance in which there appeared to be much provocative and mutually sadistic behavior which the worker noted the patient seemed to enjoy. History revealed a premarital pregnancy, little intent toward marriage, and much adolescent behavior on the part of the client. The client discussed briefly her relationship to her mother and gave a few facts about the past history of the husband and herself. Most of the information was obtained in the initial interview. What seems to have ensued thereafter in the interviews was a dramatic and meaningful report on the part of the client in interview after interview of events between herself and her husband. The worker struggled diligently to focus on the acting-out so apparent between them. She repeatedly interpreted the immature and perverted sexual behavior on the basis of the woman's fear of sexuality, her failure to understand her role as a sexual object, and her need to reject her husband. When the staff picked up the discussion, there was a rather spontaneous comment about the meaning of the sadistic acting-out. Excellent discussion between worker and staff brought active diagnostic thinking on this case.

The staff began to question why this woman needed to be so hostile; looking at the hostility as a symptom to be used diagnostically, we began to define by use of objective evidence from the worker's contact the quality of the hostility. It was not bitter or tinged with a sullen grudgingness, nor did it pervade all the areas of the lives of these two people. This brought us back to what it might mean in the relationships and to the history. The worker knew a great deal about this woman's relationship to her husband but had not thought about her knowledge as a resource for what she

needed to know in order to understand why this woman's overt behavior was primarily hostile and of this teasing quality. Understanding the dynamics of sadistic behavior in sexual relationships threw little light on this case; thinking about the total life-functioning of this woman and noting her prepubertal patterns and fixations made clear her need for hostile defenses. These hostile defenses were presented by the client in such a manner as to make the sexual problem seem paramount. The worker, operating on her theoretical knowledge of the dynamics of sexual incompatibility, found her efforts fruitless because she had not seen this presenting symptom in terms of the total dynamic organization of this case. The specific meaning of symptoms can be understood only in the light of broad diagnostic thinking.

A second case brought to staff after three contacts was that of a woman married twenty years. She had five children: Frank, nineteen, employed and described as the "really responsible father" to her younger children; John, seventeen, a seminary student; Erika, ten; and two little boys, Billy, age three and a half, and Jimmy, age two. Her husband was an engineer for a well-known company, making an adequate income. They appeared together on the first visit, asking for placement of the two younger children because they were so impossible to handle; only Frank could really make them behave. Because the woman had recently undergone major surgery and because of the wish of both clients for the worker to visit and see these little boys for herself, the worker complied. She came back with an accurate description of the destructive behavior of the two and with an alarming observation on Billy's self-destructive activity. She obtained in these two interviews a great

deal of current and past history, both factual and attitudinal. Her impression was of a woman inadequate and overwhelmed by two pregnancies in her middle life, two episodes of major surgery since the birth of the last child, and the out-of-hand behavior of the children. The woman's recital of her physical weakness and discomfort was reasonable in terms of the pressures of inadequate housing and the impossibility of obtaining domestic help, as was the reaction of a child feeling rejected by the mother's absence. The husband's agreement with and support of his wife in this story lent credence to the worker's feeling that herein lay the problem.

When we began to scrutinize the data, however, and to think about the total history which the worker had obtained, it was noted that the woman had worked before her marriage, had worked through the early childhood of the two older children, and had many evidences of good ego strength and self-reliance. The long period between the births of the first two and the last two children, with the ten-year-old so obviously in between, were noted. Other facts led us to question further the meaning of this in this family and to reject the first formulation of an inadequate dependent woman. Some organizing of these data led the worker to think about what she needed to find out to confirm our impression that this was really a marital problem as in contrast to the above-described case. The next interview now brought out the terrific conflict between these two superficially well-adjusted people of Catholic faith, the gambling tendencies of this man with adequate income, the fact of two marital separations occurring after the birth of the first two and the third child, the effort of reconciliation before the last two were born. The origin of the chil-

dren's disturbed behavior was not alone on the basis of their feelings of rejection because of the mother's illness. Part of it stemmed from the deep underlying resentment of this fairly adequate woman toward this essentially irresponsible but demanding man. It arose also from the shared wish to get rid of the young children, although the wish was differently motivated in these two people.

This case is in contrast to the one described above in that the worker did not have all the material she needed for diagnosis. She had not organized what she had for its long-term implications, nor had she analyzed the direction of the acting-out behavior of the children. Had she done so, she would have known what else she needed to find out. The problem in the first case, where there was an abundance of material, dealt with interpreting of behavior in terms theoretically possible but which had not been related in its diagnostic significance to the total structure. In the second, it is one of using both the known material and the equally pertinent things that were missing in it to make this diagnosis. Frederika Neumann of the Jewish Board of Guardians wrote concerning this point in 1945: "One of the soundest disciplines to which caseworkers can be subjected is that of learning to think clinically . . . to subject symptoms to scrutiny in their context; to absorb the idea that a diagnosis is a vertical as well as a horizontal concept."⁴

It is often said that the development of rapport, which may ultimately lead to transference activity, begins the moment that the client decides to call the agency. She comes often with preformed ideas

⁴ "The Use of Psychiatric Consultation by a Case Work Agency," *Family*, XXVI (October, 1945), 216; see also Grete L. Bibring, "Psychiatry and Social Work," *Journal of Social Casework*, XXVIII (June 5, 1947), 203.

about a social worker, many of which may have no reality referent in her experience. Surely not only rapport and a therapeutic relationship begin the moment the client walks in the door, but diagnostic thinking is essential from that moment or earlier. If the face sheet is made up by someone other than the worker before she sees the client, it is important that one know the information that it contains. It gives one the developmental period in which the individual is by its statement of age, tells one what his place in the family constellation is, whether or not the sibling problems are those of people approximating or distant from one another in age, whether or not this individual has already met the complications of marriage, and, in general, what kind of cultural conflicts one might expect in the patient in terms of birthplace, religious preference, and generational span. This information is not for the edification of the files, as a worker, amused yet chagrined by her failure to know in what decade of the parent's life the client was born, told me when it was suggested that she look on the face sheet; it is for the purpose of stimulating the diagnostic thinking of the worker toward an understanding of the total life-span of her client in order that the function of present behavior may be understood and change effected.

We have discussed briefly the concept of diagnostic thinking. What are the tools that make it possible? The worker must develop a thorough knowledge of the primitive, irritable, and impulsive emotional forces in the individual and the aggregate society; an awareness of the frequency and intensity of aggression, hostility, cupidity, and distortion of values. This fund of knowledge must include also an understanding of those forces both in society and in the individual

which make possible growth, education, consideration for people other than one's self, the investment of social reality with wisdom, and the development of insight. It includes both social adaptation, since social ill- or well-being is, in the last analysis, expressed through the behavior of people, and a knowledge of individual behavior patterns, the vicissitudes of emotional growth, and the tremendous variations of the organizing functions of the total personality expressed in the ego. To acquire this knowledge is a never ending task of education and experience, and its discussion is outside the scope of this paper.

Assuming that one is developing this background, let us proceed to the tools in relation to the specific client: Information of the first interview can be divided into two categories. The first is that spontaneously offered by the client in response to your questions as to what service you can offer or why she comes in. Throughout this material one must be thinking and evaluating whether or not the problem presented falls more into that caused by external stress or internal tension. This means that one not only must listen to the content of what the patient says but must look for either the presence of or, equally important, the absence of signs of tension. In the initial interview the consciously expressed content is of the utmost importance. While one looks throughout for evidence of unconscious behavior or motivation as clues to help one in the diagnosis, one must not make a conclusion about the unconscious motivation of the patient until evidence has substantiated that conclusion.

This was the error in the first case presented earlier in the paper. The worker concluded from the description of behavior that the woman's conflict was pri-

marily due to her fear of sexuality which made her secondarily hostile. She interpreted over and over again the hostility without hitting the point. Although the woman was hostile to the husband, she was not afraid of sexuality but used it in a provocative, teasing manner, unconscious of the competitive hostility to him involved. She used it to obtain the same kind of dependent gratification from her husband that she had failed to obtain earlier from the mother. This was a pre-oedipal conflict heralded in the consciously described material of the first interview which could have been substantiated much earlier by adequate history-taking.

This brings us to the second part of the interview and the second tool, namely, the taking of significant history. One cannot make a diagnosis without evidence. If one decides in the interview that one should not ask history in the first contact, one must know why one does not—either that the patient is under such pressure that she must ventilate what is immediately at hand, that the environmental needs are so great and so obvious that they must be handled first, or that the patient is too preoccupied with his immediate discomfort to lend energy to history-taking or is openly psychotic. These instances are relatively rare and are readily recognized by any worker with the minimum qualifications required for employment with this type of agency. The first or second interview is the time par excellence to obtain significant factual history to give preciseness to the diagnostic framework. Only when one knows some details about parents, the family relationships, the current situation, the time of onset (noted precisely), the intensity of the psychological or behavioral symptoms, the exacerbation or recession of them under stress and absence of

stress, and the course of these things that bring the client into your office, can one in any way begin to construct both the present clinical picture and the emotional age level of the individual, against which deviations in this individual's life can be properly evaluated.

The client has come to your office for help; almost all clients have had a clinical experience at some time in their lives. They want and expect you to find out about them; they expect to be asked questions. They often do not know why you ask them, but you should know why you do and what you want to know. Certainly you will use your best case-work techniques not to produce undue anxiety, to withdraw when you realize you have touched a sensitive point, but to make a mental note of that very point. Certainly you will reassure the client but not too soon. Many early interviews as recorded for the case conferences show two defects—the tendency to let the interview follow too long its own course or more frequently to fall by its own weight and, second, the evidence of too quick and too explanatory reassurance. It is easy for you to feel sympathy, guess at and verbalize what the patient must be feeling. The client does not expect to be told about anything unconscious in the first interview, and, unless it is diagnostically and therapeutically indicated, one should not cut off the expression of some conflict by reassuring the individual in general terms. The first interview has much more value for the worker than it does for the client. It may sometimes be disturbing to the client; even though disturbing, if the rapport is handled well, sufficient history can be taken to give the worker bearings for specific formulation.

We have heard a great deal in the past few years about the term "nondirective"; this term is never applicable in

good therapy as far as the therapist is concerned. Passivity, patience, and giving the client opportunity to ventilate should never be confused with nondirection. If the patient is going to make progress, the therapist must know what is going on or at what point something is lacking in her information so that she cannot tell what is going on. As Gordon Hamilton comments in her discussion of the diagnostic process, "One does not seek to know the past of the patient because one is going to treat the past. One seeks to know the past because it is a part of the present structure."⁵

True diagnosis is derived not only from the history but also from the direct observation of the functioning of the person during the interview. This art of observation by the case worker, on the whole, has been exceptionally well performed. The problem seems to be more frequently one of marshaling, again in a diagnostic fashion, the evidence observed.

This brings up the problems of differential diagnosis both of the symptom and of the symptom complex. As one thinks over the interview (often in the presence of the patient, because one must decide some sort of course in every interview), initial or therapeutic, questions occur to one: What was the patient's acceptance of reality? How did he seem to see himself in relation to his complaints; what was the tone of his affect; what was the relationship of his response to the therapist? If you thought that he was tense, for example, why did you think so?

A patient was seen in the presence of the worker. A tall, angular, athletic-looking girl, she commented on the fact that she was the first patient in the office on this morning; and was one so busy

that one had to begin so early? She stood awkwardly in the room but accepted a chair upon invitation. She noted the names on the outside office door and asked whether or not all the doctors were psychiatrists. As she entered the interviewing-room door, she commented that the office looked quite attractive, but where was the strait jacket? The worker discussed with me afterward the diagnostic aspects of this bit of behavior which she had seen. She noted with accuracy the tension, but, when asked to define what was the quality and meaning of the tension, she felt at loss.

We discussed the obvious over-anxiety—anxiety as portrayed by rapidity of speech, shortness of sentence, posture. The worker observed that it was at a level of great discomfort to the patient but not at the breaking point, as indicated by the rising tension in these few minutes and its relief with the remark about the strait jacket. We considered the girl's embarrassment, her need to know whether or not other patients were seen, the remark about beginning so early having little to do with the therapists but much with her need to know whether or not the doctor was respectable. We noted her accurate and rapid powers of observation, her correct orientation to the situation. We concluded that the anxiety was severe and was in relation to much internal guilt and shame but that she was in good contact with herself and with reality despite the self-centering of her thinking, and we formulated a prediction and plan. Obviously this was greatly enhanced by the interview, which the worker did not hear, in which much confirmatory evidence was obtained; but for the worker this was a useful experience in diagnostic thinking.

At the close of our conversation, the worker asked me an interesting question:

⁵ *Psychotherapy in Child Guidance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), p. 35.

Do you offer a new patient a cigarette when she comes into your office? I inquired why she wanted to know, and she talked for some length about establishing rapport, making the patient comfortable, establishing the medium in which they can reveal their conflict. Only on observing my answers to this patient's questions, answers that were socially acceptable and designed to reassure without any interpretation, had it occurred to her that even the methods essential to the establishment of rapport can be of diagnostic significance. The behavior of the therapist must be predicated on use of that behavior in a diagnostically significant way so that the therapist will have some idea where to go next. One offers a cigarette only if it has some meaning to do so, not because one thinks that is a conventional way in which one can show the other that one is a friendly person.

To return to the case, we were concerned here with differential diagnostic thinking in terms of the symptom—the intensity of the anxiety, the meaning of it, the degree of spread, the ability of the patient to manipulate it; it has to be differentiated from anxiety at a panic level or anxiety that is only reactive to a normal situation. In much more detail we can explore material differentially, trying to establish very fluid but helpful criteria of evaluating in relation to the total behavior such symptoms as early feelings of depersonalization, suicidal comments, compulsive activity, the character of dependency as seen in alcoholics, or contrasted with some forms of dependency in the unmarried mother. Staff contributions to these discussions have been valuable and help to develop the diagnostic attitude. The diagnosis of symptom complex and of character organization is more difficult but proceeds in the same fashion.

Objective evaluation of case material refers to thinking about the content given and behavior observed in the patient in relation to a few criteria about which you have accumulated by experience some quite definite ideas as to normal range: these include such things as the patient's attitude, his degree of orientation to the external problems and internal stress, the manner in which he sees himself, his span of ego function, and his relationship patterns. One has noted all these things before, but now one thinks back over these general categories to see what the performance of the patient was, preliminary to putting down your formulation of any interview. Workers say over and over again, and correctly, "I have a hunch that. . . ." "Could it be that. . . ?" "How can I account for . . . ?" Thinking in the framework of categories similar to these, one can then use one's material as evidence for or against an impression that one has obtained; can bring sharpness, focus, and meaning to the intuitive hunches that one has had; can learn to operate in response to one's own conscious-unconscious integration. One will be able to say at the end of a period of therapy in which one made an interpretation or acted in a certain way and felt that it was right that one now can, in the reflective thought, present to one's self the evidence that proves whether or not the procedure was a correct one. The patient's reaction to your interpretation or behavior is often the final check on this procedure.

Ackerman has said many times that case work is an applied social science.⁶ Scientific validity is sustained by the preservation of the diagnostic attitude throughout which permits one well oriented to the general dynamic theory to give insightful specificity to the thera-

⁶ Hamilton, *op. cit.*, "Foreword," p. v.

peutic procedures. Then one can keep constantly in mind the general over-all plan of the patient's life, correlate a plan of therapy, and notice the variations of behavior without becoming unduly concerned over any single event.

Let us leave the problems of diagnostic thinking and turn briefly to the second comment of this paper. It is referable to the presentation of cases at case conference and is related to the first comment. Writing up a diagnostic summary on a case is very different from process-recording. Process-recording has much of value to permit you to see the sequential record and seems to be not unlike those comments that the physician classifies as progress notes. Writing up a diagnostic summary requires much "three-dimensional" thinking and organization of the total material. It was gratifying to find in the notes from the seminar on recording⁷ conducted at Lake Forest last summer, a careful consideration of the problem of summary versus process and the indications for each.

Presenting a case orally to the staff requires even further organization. It also requires an awareness of the needs of the staff: the points at which you can trust them to remember the pertinent material from the written summary which hopefully they might have read, the areas in which they will find it helpful for you to formulate your ideas about the client more succinctly. It includes the awareness on one's own part of details with which one can confirm or refute points the staff are likely to want to think about in relation to the case. Moreover, in presenting a case, one must develop a sense of timing just as one does in the therapy. It is often a good idea to think about how

much of the seminar time can actually be devoted to your presentation, to check yourself against a timepiece not only to allow for time for fellow-participants but because you want time, too, to think in the conference if you are to make it most helpful to you. One further comment about recording: it is helpful to make a note on the record of what was left out in any interview. That there will be omissions in any interview is inevitable. Whether it was omitted by intent because of the tension or evasion of the client, or was forgotten in the pressure of other things, or simply did not occur to you, it is important to note in order to sharpen up again the diagnostic and therapeutic procedures.

In conclusion, this paper has emphasized the importance of continuous diagnostic thinking on a case from its initial to its terminal contact. Such an approach gives clarity and precision to the handling of the case. It alerts the worker to her material so that she is able to determine whether or not a single detail is of significance to the total personality structure of the given individual or whether it is of little concern. Diagnostic thinking at the initial contact and in the first few interviews makes possible the obtaining of sufficient significant information so that the worker has a grasp of the problem in relation to the total personality structure.

Further, the paper has considered briefly the value of organization of the case presentation in terms of the diagnostic approach for staff conference, in order that the time may be most profitably used in the attempt to understand the case. Only when one knows the meaning of the client's behavior can one decide the mode of therapy. Follow-up in

⁷ Ruby Little, "Diagnostic Recording," *Journal of Social Casework*, XXX (January, 1949), 15.

both the postconference write-up and in rediscussion staff can provide opportunity to check on the validity of one's thinking. These activities lead to the ful-

filment of the fundamental tenet of any case-work service—that of meeting the need of the client.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DISCUSSION BY DAVID LEVITIN, M.D.

Dr. Babcock's paper gives a careful and thorough analysis of consultation problems and objectives. About all that I can do is to elaborate on a few salient points which have particularly impressed themselves on my mind in the very stimulating work with the United Charities in the last few years.

Dr. Babcock has spent a large portion of her time in discussing the subject of diagnosis from the points of view of methodology and of socio- and psychodynamics. Some social workers have suggested that more time be spent in discussing therapeutic technique and less time spent in building the diagnostic picture. It is certainly commendable that a worker should seek to check on and to improve his therapeutic technique. However, I should like to emphasize that *decreased* time spent in building the diagnostic picture will not result in improving technique. Quite the contrary, the more one understands the dynamic process taking place *at a particular moment*, the easier it is to determine the precisely correct handling at that particular moment. Conversely, the less clear the diagnostic evaluation of the moment, the less likely the worker will be to choose the correct technique, regardless of how many therapeutic tricks or how much therapeutic knowledge he possesses. In general, the best psychodynamic and sociodynamic diagnosticians are the best therapists.

Let me illustrate this thesis by reviewing the treatment progress of a client carried for a couple of years by a worker in the Family Service Bureau. Mrs. W. is a thirty-year-old woman who had already had one ill-starred marriage and two illegitimate children when she was referred for case-work help. The children had been placed for adoption shortly before the referral. Since treatment began, there have been five consultations on this client's problems. In each of the five, by approaching the situation from the point of vantage of *current* material, it was possible to evaluate the *current* dynamic problem and thus to adjust treatment to the level which the

client could tolerate. In the first consultation it appeared that the client's problem was her dependency needs; apparently she sought satisfaction of those needs in the placement of her children as well as in the case-work relationship. Guilt about the placement seemed the first problem to tackle in treatment. By the next consultation Mrs. W. was in the midst of a desperate struggle with her sexual feelings; these she had handled by a retreat into a rigid religiosity, the same technique she had employed after her father's death when she was fifteen; on the basis of the evident psychodynamics, the next step indicated in treatment was an exploration of that period during which the genesis of the current symptoms might be learned. In the third consultation Mrs. W. was reoccupied with extreme feelings of inadequacy based on her relationship with her depreciating mother and on her shame about her sexuality; the next goal in treatment, then, was to help her gain perspective on the fact that sex is only one aspect of a relationship with a man and to underscore varied satisfactions in other areas, job, church, etc. In the fourth consultation it became clear that the client had developed negative attitudes toward her worker identical with her earlier attitude to her mother; interpretation of the negative transference was the next logical step in treatment. The more active role of the worker in this area resulted in a marked change in the client, so that she is herself now taking an active role in the treatment and can now be helped to face directly the fear, confusion, and guilt in relation to her parents which she felt when she was a young child. I have described this case panorama in some detail because I think that it indicates an excellent comprehension of the best way to use psychiatric consultation. Despite the obvious difficulties involved in handling a very sick, acting-out woman with tremendous needs and multiple conflict areas, accentuation throughout was not on therapeutic technique per se. Indeed, therapy was

thought of only as a logical corollary to diagnostic investigation.

I like to think of the treatment process as a jigsaw puzzle in which only a few of the pieces are visible above the table, the remainder being concealed beneath. The more pieces that can be brought out in the open, the more obvious becomes the technique for completion of the puzzle.

A question I always ask myself (and this is implicit in the 10 points Dr. Babcock listed) is: Why does the worker pick this particular case for consultation? What specific thing is there about this specific client which the worker finds difficult either to understand or to work through? How, then, could help best be offered with that specific difficulty? This implies that the psychiatrist must try to see the problems not in a vacuum but as the worker has seen them. If the consultation is successful, any anxiety in treating the particular client should be so alleviated as to permit more objective and more comfortable dealings with the client. How much carry-over there is to the relationships with other clients would appear a highly individual matter, dependent upon the personality of the individual worker.

I might say a word or two about initial interviews. Dr. Babcock has pointed out that work-

ers tend to give reassurance too quickly and, conversely, tend to let the interview follow its own course. This latter course of no direction is apt to be like a brook gaining momentum downstream; the longer you let it go along its merry way, the harder it will be to deflect it to another channel. It is safe to be more aggressive from the outset of contact with a client than is usually practiced. Background information can always be initiated on the first interview if there is none of the specific contraindications which Dr. Babcock listed. The more you learn immediately, the more you will know whether reassurance is justified. In the first interview an occasional tentative interpretation in the form of a question will give both diagnostic and prognostic information which will guide the worker to a slowdown or a speedup of his efforts, as well as to a specific focus on the problem.

One more thing: Play your hunches in an interview. After the interview is over, one can sit back and figure out why he thought what he said; during the interview it pays to trust one's intuition: it will more often be right than wrong in a person conscious of the dynamic nature of interpersonal relations.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

PUBLIC WELFARE CAN AID CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS

HARRISON ALLEN DOBBS

THIS article considers the means by which public welfare agencies in the United States have influenced, and can still continue to influence advantageously, institutional care for children country-wide and reserve it, more than ever, for legitimate use. The methods discussed will seem commonplace to some; nevertheless, they are pertinent and can be significantly used.

There is special need to emphasize at the present time how fundamentally worth while an improvement like this can become to children themselves and to the nation as a whole. Currently a notable swingback to more general acceptance of an institutional form of substitute-parent care is apparent in this country. It is important for the future that this children's service be kept at a trustworthy level and be more appropriately used. An effort is made here to show how public welfare might help accomplish this goal.

It is a quality of sound planning for community welfare to utilize all the reliable methods that we have for helping needy children grow and develop successfully. A wide variety of social services is always required, and each must function so as to bring the best possible results. Consequently, there is real worth in determining what local and state departments of public welfare can do today to encourage better care and training of children living insecurely in institutions. There is the hope that those working in the public welfare field and those supporting such programs will be aroused to undertake even more in behalf of these children than they are now attempting.

Public welfare affords a beachhead that is hard to equal for making advances in the direction of lessened but improved institutional placements.

In order to achieve this directive, the discussion that follows is divided into four parts; each answers a leading question: (1) What are American children worth in 1949? (2) Why do children's institutions persist? (3) How do public welfare workers help improve the current status of institutional care for children? (4) What suggestions might be offered to guide their efforts? It will be seen that each answer has definite interest and value of its own; taken as a whole, however, they furnish a tentative background and framework for making noteworthy headway in the general welfare of children all over the nation. What happens to children in institutions affects all the others and ourselves as well.

WHAT ARE AMERICAN CHILDREN WORTH IN 1949?

One with average insight cannot fail to recognize the necessity of having children who possess abundant mental and physical health. Yet, it is amazing how much we overlook and neglect this unequaled asset. Many citizens still fail to realize that any child who is allowed to grow and develop wrongly or meagerly lowers total national income. Moreover, he lessens appreciably our security, from the military point of view if from no other.

Neither complicated statistical nor metaphysical analysis is required to verify the assertion just made. Boys and girls with once correctable limitations of

a social, mental, or physical kind are often kept wastefully out of employment as adults, and they have medical conditions precluding military conscription. Too frequently they become national liabilities rather than a valuable resource. Manpower loss, purely apart from the immense expenditures of public funds appropriated for the annual upkeep of dependent and delinquent persons, has tremendous social significance. We waste annually millions of children and billions of dollars. The time has come when we must check these grave losses, for a political reason, if for nothing else.

Fortunately, there prevail other fundamental concepts of a more philosophical kind regarding individual and group relationships and our commonweal. These have persisted strongly in the patterns of American life, and they ought to play a more vital part than monetary matters. If we, nationally, are to retain hard-won birthrights and to enjoy our social heritage and augment it, firmer grasp of these underlying spiritual values will have to be taken.

A review here of the numerous beliefs and practices that make ours the successful nation which it has unquestionably become is unnecessary. Nor is this the proper place to enlarge upon advantages these ideals provide us. However, three have an immediate bearing on the problem at hand; i.e., how fare a particular group of American children. These points should be reviewed because of the crucial place they occupy presently. They augur even greater gains in years to come, granted we nurture and extend them in sure, intelligent fashion.

1. Basic human rights have to remain foremost; that is, if American thinking and planning are to be directed successfully toward best social living. Four elementary ones are: (1) the right to safety and security of person; (2) the right to citizenship and its privileges;

(3) the right to freedom of conscience and expression; and (4) the right to equality of opportunity. Each gives important assurance.

Regretfully, there is now a discrepancy in every locality between the rights we easily pronounce and the rights we actually assure each person. Much depends, personally and socially, on how reasonably the conditions affecting children adversely are gradually and acceptably corrected.

2. An abiding respect for persons must flourish in the pattern of social living we like. This is a distinctive, cherished characteristic of American culture. Since this feeling about personal worth has been deeply ingrained into our living patterns, it becomes necessary to provide full opportunity for the best, healthiest maturing and acculturing of all children. It is this quality of respecting the individual that distinguishes our political and social ideology from that of some other nations. It can be readily understood to what extent the wise guidance and generous service we supply all growing children enter into how well and long we will manage to keep the form of government where individuals have an intrinsic worth of their own.

3. A less accepted belief that "to be secure in the rights one wishes for himself each man must be willing to respect the rights of other men" has a most important implication. There is implied in this the obligation to build social institutions that increasingly encourage an equality of opportunity for all.

This moves us out of theorizing and into problems of dynamic living. Where do we stand institutionally? Whither is the institutional organization of society bound? It is clear that children's welfare, and our own, is definitely and continuously determined by the social arrangements we make.

An influential aspect of children's welfare relates to disturbing effects that come from the family's functioning poorly as a primary social institution. However, rather than parade negative aspects of unsatisfactory family living, it will be more convincing here to indicate invaluable advantages that children experience in their own homes. Only rarely can any of these be foregone if growth outcomes are to be satisfactory.

Three fundamental services that the family provides are selected as illustrative examples. These, when they are well offered, affect definitely the extent and nature of care and training for children in institutions. In the first place, physical care and sustenance is a matter of great importance. After the child is born, these biological demands present problems which must be met. The natural home of a child seems the practical, economical setting to solve them. Russia hopefully has experimented with substitutes but gave these up as being emotionally harmful, costly, and politically unpromising. Second, there is the constant, unduplicated teaching that parents do from the child's first breath onward. They train his muscles, introduce him to his heritage, give him acquired characteristics, and establish largely the patterns of his behavior. Early habit training by parents continues its influence through adolescence and even adult living. Third, psychiatric studies show how momentous parent-child relationships are. Results are devastating where these are disturbed or weakened in any phase of a child's development. Personality damage is often irreparable. It is superfluous to argue here the need for society's protecting and nurturing all family life in behalf of children's welfare, far beyond levels of present social attainment.

Following are interrelated generalizations that epitomize existing conditions affecting many American children, socially and psychologically. Taken together, they create a mosaic that merits careful study. This mosaic connects directly with the status of institutional care for children. It throws upon this problem a different light and lodges responsibility for solving it, at least in part. These postulates make an excellent pre-

face for the later discussion regarding the special part in this matter that public welfare agencies are called upon to take.

1. Many children suffer now from limited opportunities. There is genuine evidence of a great deal of serious deprivation and neglect. Although we do reasonably well for most of them, there can be no relaxing of public effort until social planning satisfactorily encompasses the needs of each one. This is not now the case by any means.

2. Family living for children is still viewed as being essential for their successful growth and development. As we stand today nationally, we allow excessive loss of everyone's well-being by denying a great body of boys and girls the right to good care and guidance by an able mother and father in their own satisfying home.

3. On the basis of these two readily established propositions, it is apparent that, in order to have really able children and a creditable nation in the best sense, we must have stronger families in the surest sense. We must be concerned genuinely as citizens and help strengthen more American homes.

4. Too many children are being denied outright the privilege of living with their own parents. Oftentimes these are unintelligently furnished substitute-parent care of an unsatisfactory nature. Social and psychological difficulties must result from this poor welfare planning.

5. There accumulates much evidence which shows that local and state departments of public welfare have a distinct opportunity to aid children throughout the nation by helping improve the services that public and private institutions now give children. Especially, they can help limit the incidence of unproductive use of these costly facilities for misfitted children.

These five provocative statements set forth a body of social truths that are timely and urgent. Many factors enter into answering the challenge they make. In the different light they invite, it will be determined next why so much institutional care for children is being used in the United States. After this has been done, some of the contributions that public welfare agencies make in lessening and

improving this situation will be briefly explained and evaluated.

WHY DO CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS PERSIST?

Most people quickly agree that the problem of institutional care for children is a large, costly one in this country; only a few sense its psychological moment and social urgency.

Recent figures regarding the total number of children in the United States who reside in institutions are not available; the 1940 census has not provided such an analysis. However, the 1930 report did make this breakdown, and these data show that approximately sixteen hundred institutions were then aiding about 140,000 children. This number did not include those with unusual qualities who were being trained in state and local institutions for the deaf, blind, feeble-minded, and delinquent.

Estimates today indicate that there are far more than half a million children receiving some sort of institutional care and training in this country. Surely this constitutes a very consequential group of young citizens. Unless each of them is kept happy, grows well, and learns much that is useful, there will eventually result an impairment of welfare influencing such children, many others, and the whole nation.

Unfortunate happenings like these cause great personal and social loss, even if relatively few individuals are involved. In the present situation, however, there are so many children included that current institutional shortcomings can easily do great harm to many individuals and groups; that is, unless there is evidenced greater increased public concern and effort so as to modify them satisfactorily.

A long list of reasons why this institutional form of care for children is so prev-

alent today in the United States is easy to formulate. It is unnecessary here to examine intensively these various causes; it is clarifying, however, to comment briefly at least on a few of the more important ones. Doing this will illustrate the validity and inevitability of the generous part that institutional living for children plays currently in total welfare. It will show why communities still supply so much of this form of group care to girls and boys who because of various reasons are removed from their own homes.

Once mindful of these viewpoints, it is easier to envision how fruitful the efforts of those working in public welfare programs can become in this field. Might the required improvements in child-caring institutions be speeded by them? Can these workers affect constructive change in the child-placing methods now used in American communities? Several concepts follow; these deserve a careful and productive examination.

HISTORICAL

Viewed historically, institutional care for children had an early and propitious start in this country. It began at a time when it was growing increasingly evident that traditional provisions for a rapidly mounting number of needy children could no longer suffice. Widespread neglect, almshouse custody, harsh indenture, and makeshift plans were being more criticized publicly.

It was natural for communities, following the European philosophy and pattern of the time, to substitute specialized institutions for children's aid and protection. The new movement expanded quickly; it was given enthusiastic support by religious groups, philanthropists, and, in many places, by the harassed public officials. They saw in tax-support-

ed children's homes a likely answer to a growing, complex social problem. The establishment by states themselves of government institutions for the care and training of certain children with physical and mental handicaps and for those without legal residence was particularly significant. Apparently, many localities followed this arrangement for their own so-called "dependent children," stimulated by promising state examples.

Basic limitations and weaknesses in congregate-care programs were periodically brought to the fore. However, the institutional method was not seriously questioned until 1909 at the White House Conference on Child Welfare. Definite action was taken regarding this matter at that meeting. The body of representative persons, all deeply concerned with the well-being of American children, brought forth an official declaration that pertained to assuring satisfactory living conditions for all children. It asserted clearly that children should live in their own homes if this were at all possible; otherwise foster-parents should be selected for them on an individualized basis.

The use of boarding-homes for dependent children increased rapidly until recent times. The United States Children's Bureau, with its continuous, able leadership, has given excellent direction to total child welfare planning, including programs for the care and education of children away from their own families. Inherent limitations, which seemingly make it impossible to extend foster-home facilities much further at this time and which are considered later in this paper, now obligate modifying current practices, somewhat hazardingly. Welfare leaders must again give consideration to allowing institutional care for children a more creditable place in community organization for social welfare. Can it now be

made to work for children more beneficially than it did before? This becomes a paramount question.

EMOTIONAL

Viewed psychologically, institutional care for children is often charged with deep emotional feeling. Such permeating attitudes may be both advantageous and detrimental at the same time. An institution offers something concrete in the way of buildings and grounds to admire and cherish. Appealing children are usually found there to be viewed, fondled, lauded, and punished. A host of adults country-wide constantly find, in their institutional connections, satisfactions for their own inner needs. Donors, employed and volunteer workers, and citizens generally look approvingly upon such a vicarious social service. They frequently find tangible outlets for their energy, when they spend it strengthening and extending institutional paraphernalia and goals.

This emotional tinge, so commonly evidenced, brings bad as well as good results. However, there is an especially unfortunate one that commonly appears, and it can do a great deal of lasting damage in various ways. This is the likelihood in many instances of persons wishing insistently to keep an established status quo for the institution to which they are sentimentally attached. More structural and functional changes in institutional programs and services than are now reported could be made profitably. We possess much clearer scientific knowledge about how children can be best helped to grow and develop successfully than heretofore. Nevertheless, favorable advances are often imperiled, or actually impeded, because of these deeply imbedded emotional resistances. Institutional situations, growing out of this blocking, often require unusual patience and guiding, on

the part of those giving new leadership, if social change is to be made substantial and lasting.

ECONOMICAL

Viewed economically, institutional facilities for children demand a heavy financial outlay. The money factor may loom prominently; and great reluctance to give up hard-won holdings and recognition is evident on many occasions even where social conditions in the community have altered and children's unmet needs have shifted. There are trustees and executives who spend time and energy worrying futilely about high per capita costs, unfilled beds, excess staff, the declining admissions, and ways to offset them. In this manner welfare programs that could be guided into more rewarding directions are wastefully perpetuated.

Moreover, the "dead hand of the law" frequently sustains outmoded social service programs. Restrictions, which are imposed specifically in the wills of many benefactors, control expenditures and activities tightly. Dynamic beginnings often end in a kind of static dysfunction, not at all helpful or promising. The child welfare field can show glowing examples where finally progressive ideas have won out; but there are many situations, too, in the institutional area especially, where communities still must meet these philanthropic barriers.

It is reasonable to hold that such financial factors carry great weight. They are a chief cause of many children's institutions not being able to give more satisfactory services or to quit entirely. It is a frequent reason that more progress is not being shown or being dreamed of.

FUNCTIONAL

Viewed functionally, opportunities for institutional care to demonstrate a basic usefulness in helping well-selected children have been slight. Some children do have needs that recommend an institu-

tional placement, but it becomes peculiarly difficult to carry out reliably the treatment plans that were painstakingly made for them. Unsuitable intake practices, unsuitable growth experiences, and unsuitable staff constitute serious residential hazards commonly never overcome.

Limiting factors like these, acting jointly, restrict the growth and development of a great number of American boys and girls. Biological and socially acquired drives of these children sometimes necessitate special help that only the truly supportive environment of a creditable institution is able to supply them. Scientific thought today about the maturing and acculturing of children indicates definitely that there are young individuals whose welfare and ultimate social usefulness will be increased greatly by their having the experiences of controlled group living. Regretfully, up until now such special children are scarcely ever identified in most localities. Painful separations of children from parents are hardly ever made with the assurance that they will certainly find in their new living situations an essential kind of new guidance and opportunity. This positive, unique aspect of institutional usage and privilege is still overlooked in much community welfare planning or is hit upon by mere chance.

Occasional unusually favorable outcomes demonstrate beyond doubt the essential segment that institutional living for children, if it is the right sort, occupies in total social service. Welfare workers must put forth more co-ordinated effort to guarantee this facility to necessitous cases. They must act to assure its selection for special children by persons who have qualifying experience and training.

PRAGMATIC

Two administrative causes of real importance cannot be left without extra

mention. They again show why American children must still make use of so much institutional care. Both have great consequence socially. The first has to do with scant funds, available country-wide, for the support and supervision of dependent children; that is, where there is dire economic strain in their own home and direct aid is demanded. Coupled closely with this financial stringency are consequential gaps in social services all over the nation. These frequently impair the quality and quantity of case-work help where family life needs fortifying and strengthening above all else.

The rapid development of the Aid for Dependent Children program under the Social Security Act assists greatly. Augmented provision for general assistance grants has been made in many localities. Nevertheless, most people agree that individual allowances will have to be increased; public assistance and social insurance coverage will have to be appreciably extended. This will be necessary if full intent of the National Security Act is ever to be a reality. Regardless of the increase of public welfare offices and workers, a great number of families fail yet to receive essential social help. Many children still are forced to go through the scarring experience of giving up parent relationships needlessly; they suffer deeply because of it. More financial aid and social service would surely avert more disruptions and stop many emotional injuries to children.

A second reason, stemming from another administrative restriction, which protracts the position that institutions for children now hold and which affects greatly community organization for child welfare, relates to the appalling lack today of suitable foster-families. Even agencies with very competent personnel report the inability to find such homes and to keep them in sufficient number.

Very few couples are willing or able today to accept the responsibility for nurturing other people's children, as they would their own. Generally speaking, this state of affairs is not to be blamed on the inefficiency or the faulty policies of social agencies themselves. Neither is it due to a callousness of citizens to the welfare of children.

It is caused, rather, almost entirely so, by serious fundamental community lacks and inconsistencies too involved to be discussed here and not likely to be changed very promptly. Consequently, a wholly inappropriate plan for placement is followed instead of free choice among acceptable possibilities. Unsatisfactory arrangements mean perilous outcomes, both for the individuals themselves and for whole groups of children. These groups are handicapped in various ways by the inclusion of misfitted children in their institution. What we can do about increasing the availability of foster-families is an issue outside the range of this paper. However, the situation is such that it cannot be passed by without real emphasis.

Causes like these, considered jointly, explain the continuance of the uncertain care and training now provided many children in institutions. While such viewpoints have a general interest and an immediate challenge, they have very special pertinence to those working directly in the field of public welfare. The institutional placement of boys and girls touches the structure and function of welfare departments in several dynamic ways. While the social service that is provided children in institutions is outside the bailiwick of departments of public welfare under customary conditions, the degree of its goodness or badness is closely connected with how these public agencies perform their duties and utilize their opportunities.

What a community does socially for any child and the degree of social efficiency in the efforts that it makes are both tied in a real way to the over-all position that welfare departments have been given in American communities these recent years. This paper proceeds by setting forth statements concerning finite connections between these welfare agencies and the extent and nature of the care and training that public and private institutions afford children. What is determined upon and carried through by these helps decide, to great extent, the immediate and ultimate welfare of an important body of potential citizens. All these ought to be kept constantly growing and developing as successfully and happily as possible.

WHAT IS PUBLIC WELFARE TO DO ABOUT
IMPROVING CHILDREN'S WELFARE
IN INSTITUTIONS?

It is not superfluous or unfruitful to recall the well-known services for children that are especially defined or inferred in the charter of a public welfare agency and that pertain directly to this problem. The everyday concerns of life are those that usually get crowded under or are hurriedly passed by; realization of this tendency encourages going over again the customary but basic contributions public welfare makes to children in institutions. The intent, therefore, is to present next these prescribed activities, but with a new facet to the fore.

The unique quality and position of public welfare departments in relation to this institutional problem should stand out, much like what happens when the facets of a diamond are looked at in a different light. A social gain which is anticipated from this article comes from focusing on the feeling that welfare workers the country over should have, individually and collectively, regarding this matter.

There is a total contribution of a unique kind that they can make in this particular child welfare field. No matter how routine the parts of their service to children may seem to be, these make an impressive array when considered as a unit.

Eight commonplace but useful ways that welfare departments have to fulfil the challenges given them are chosen here as representative of the special help they can plan for or might give to institutional children. The first four are concerned chiefly with what the so-called "state office" offers in the way of service; the other four pertain to what happens state-wide in grass-root situations. Here local public welfare workers are commissioned to deal directly with human needs. When the total aid that is offered to children in institutions through all these activities is thus considered, an impressive quantity of invaluable assistance is revealed. Moreover, there is noted an immeasurable quality that is often generated where help is planned and given. This aspect of sound service occupies a distinctive place in preserving and extending national well-being. It appears generally where programs do an encompassing kind of job.

What "state offices" do is not separated in the following statements from the part local public agencies play. This continuity helps to emphasize again that it is the complete service that counts and that a close unity of effort is always to be sought. It would be unfortunate if an imaginary line were drawn between the two approaches. In reality, they are part and parcel of the same social body. It presents a continuum, not a dichotomy of responsibility or goal.

1. *Licensing children's institutions in the state.*—The best direct opportunity that the state department of public welfare has to benefit institutional children is probably this one. Doing this job efficiently influences noticeably

the quantity and quality of the total admissions, releases, programs, and directives of institutions in the state. This activity is often a submerged departmental function. However, this licensing mandate does affect, greatly and directly, the welfare of many children and communities. Annual licensing can help to eliminate unsatisfactory facilities where this responsibility is emphasized and where sufficient, well-qualified staff of the department of public welfare is directed to carry it out and use this authority wisely.

2. *Administering residential schools controlled directly by state departments of public welfare.*—State schools for deaf, blind, feeble-minded, delinquent, and other children with unusual qualities can become distinguished patterns to follow if they are especially well organized and directed. Other private and public institutions for children are easily inspired to copy them. This pace-setting is too seldom found. The leadership that the state department can give could become a genuine aid in establishing and maintaining high standards throughout the state for children's institutions. Moreover, where state-directed institutions are permitted to operate in an unsatisfactory manner, the licensing activity of welfare departments has little effect. The fallacy of "the pot calling the kettle black" is true here as always.

3. *Developing close relationships between public welfare and other departments of state government.*—A favorable integration, locally, of service activities can be expected only if there is continuous co-operation of educational, health, and public welfare forces at the state level. This seems especially so where children's growth and development are at stake. Unfortunate happenings can often be averted where united approaches meet distressing situations. At the same time unified effort is better than a segmentalized one for correcting upsetting conditions. The joint thinking of teachers, doctors, and social workers gives finer answers to children's and community problems than isolated attempts. Co-operative planning is both economical and resourceful. It is "much easier for water to run downhill than up"; good judgment urges that the department of public welfare, because of its encompassing nature, put greater effort into functioning well at the capitol. Results show eventually in what happens to needy children back home; the particular situation being considered here might change noticeably. This

contribution of departments of public welfare to consolidating opinion and action is too consequential not to have more recognition than it usually has.

4. *Giving leadership to bring changes in state and national laws.*—This indirect help to children in institutions might well be viewed as ranking first in importance. New legislation that provides more coverage and bigger grants for public assistance can help more needy children all over the nation. Many institutional placements will be avoided when social security provisions are extended. Costly care and training in institutions can then be conserved for children actually requiring this form of social care. Chances of improving this care will be enhanced thereby. Local workers and interested citizens can show and stress the need for amending our Social Security Act; but the central office of the state department of public welfare is more able to spearhead pointing out what should be done and getting it accomplished. It can do something concrete about existing inequalities and hardships and lead to having more suitable legislation passed. No one else and no outside group could work through these issues so efficiently. American boys and girls are fortunate to have able proponents like welfare departments planning and acting in their behalf. It is clear that Security Act extensions will lessen demands for the institutional placement of many boys and girls, because other forms of social care can then be more profitably arranged for them.

5. *Utilizing the case-work services that the local child welfare unit offers.*—Child welfare divisions of local public welfare agencies have an essential obligation to help communities select and use properly institutional placements for children. Their activities will count for much more when each is better staffed, understood, and connected to total community welfare. Where this has been so, the great usefulness of these social workers has been well demonstrated. For example, there have been pilot projects that have demonstrated conclusively (1) what a centralized institutional intake service by public child welfare workers accomplishes; (2) what it means when these child welfare workers make case studies which institutions want made on their pending cases; (3) how communities and individuals are helped by the special protective service they give; (4) what gains come when child welfare workers help institutions guide particularly difficult children who are their wards. Experi-

mentation like this puts the service of the child welfare worker past the demonstration stage. They save happiness, time, and money for communities because the waste of "trying to fit round pegs into square holes" is reduced materially.

6. *Aiding children or families where child workers proceed co-operatively with local institution staffs.*—Case-work aid is often required by institutions for special children, when unusual conditions arise. Smaller institutions and those with incomplete staffs need such professional service particularly. The department of public welfare, because of its child welfare division, is advantageously situated to enter jointly by invitation and to help with these problems co-operatively. Such may involve a child's release to his parents who must have preparatory help; it may be that a foster-home has to be secured for a child unable to use institutional care. Frequently the transfer of a child to another kind of institution must be arranged. These services, done in prompt and successful fashion, assist immeasurably all the parties involved. They aid the progress of the individual child and also help directly other children in the institutional group where he has been living. These profit greatly by the removal of misplaced individuals who naturally have disrupted and imperiled their growth and development.

7. *Participating actively in local community welfare planning.*—Staff members of a public welfare agency serve, frequently and productively, in communities on committees or in work groups, as members or chairmen. They can understand better than many people do the social and psychological problems which demand attention in everyday group living. Working voluntarily in a council of social agencies, a community chest, or a co-ordinating center, public welfare workers are influential in the important decisions being made there. Where and how shall there be social agency expansion? What shall be new standards for an agency's structure and practice? Should there be curtailment of certain outmoded welfare programs? How can a more co-ordinated effort be brought about? Child welfare facilities are surveyed and analyzed; in this field, foster-care is commonly considered. Institutions get a great deal of attention since they are used so generally. This is especially so now, since foster-homes are so hard to find and can be used much less than heretofore. Moreover, natural family living for children is harder

than ever to sustain. This increases the total demand for social agency planning and care. Public welfare workers, having the skill, training, and interest they do, are often obligated to furnish essential leadership in these matters. They help look ahead, effect changes of considerable moment, and safeguard community welfare and expenditures in a general as well as a specialized sense.

8. *Strengthening life for children within their own families.*—The fourth statement made above stressed the contribution of direct financial aid and indicated the important part the state office of the welfare department plays in seeing to it that adequate funds are made available. What was pointed out there is even more true at the local level of public welfare administration. Wherever public assistance is given directly to augment family living, less demand for the foster-care of children ought to result. This means there would be fewer requests for institutional placements. It seems sound to declare that the very best way to prevent institutional care for unsuited children is to keep them living safely and happily in their home. Viewed in this light, each public assistance worker, regardless of his general assignment, becomes a strong bulwark against institutional hazards for children. Indirectly they improve the standards of institutional care for children in this consequential way. Services such as these workers offer, when taken together, do much to determine the kind of provisions communities will supply to meet the needs of dependent children. Their total effort helps reserve costly institutional facilities for a carefully determined, necessitous few. These few have a real need for this kind of specialized social aid; it is wise to see to it in communities that it is well supplied and conserved.

These eight special activities affecting children in institutions, chosen from among the many services public welfare departments are commissioned to provide, make in themselves an effective galaxy. As pointed out earlier, they furnish an excellent beachhead for pushing forward the advancement of children's welfare generally, of institutional children particularly.

Each approach has been used to some extent in many communities from time to time. However, slight concentrated ef-

fort in this direction has yet been made continuously in the forty-eight commonwealths by the state and local departments of public welfare. There seems more likelihood of this happening now.

Summarizing, it can be reiterated that progress is bound to come in any state where all institutions are critically studied before their licensing; where state eleemosynary schools have highest possible standards; where a close functional interrelationship persists among education, health, and welfare departments; and where national and state provisions pertaining to social security are generous and provide a full coverage. It is in these four areas that the leadership and service of the central office of state welfare departments probably show the clearest.

These contributions of help to children in institutions become greatly enhanced when they are backed up by the case-work and other social services that local child welfare workers offer, by the special aid that the public welfare agencies give directly to institutions of the community which have a curtailed professional staff, by the gains that come when public welfare departments participate actively in local community welfare planning of a progressive kind, and by the direct help which public welfare workers arrange for families who need to strengthen themselves. Total local assistance has as much importance and value as that which is centered at the capitol. It may have even more, because we, as an American people, usually prefer to have efforts leading to change start at least near home.

WHAT PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS CAN BE
MADE TO GUIDE THIS SPECIAL
EFFORT OF PUBLIC WELFARE?

Before suggestions are offered regarding definite steps to be taken, several cau-

tion notes ought to be sounded. An unusual degree of awareness and astuteness is necessary if genuine and lasting progress is to be made in this field. It is much wiser, in consequential matters of this nature, to prevent social mistakes from happening than it is to spend valuable time and energy trying to undo them later.

CREDIT FOR EFFORT MADE

It is necessary, first of all, to banish hope for the easy, complete transformation of any institutional program. This problem, considered in its total light, is complicated and varied. No single approach or person or any one social body is likely to dent it in quick, discernible fashion. A plan that contemplates changing the whole picture, or altering it suddenly, is bound to have only limited success; it may fail completely to do what is socially wanted.

Segments of institutional social service, nevertheless, often yield to intelligent thought and well-conceived efforts in surprisingly easy manner. Evaluative attention and public interpretation can profitably be given to any bit of progress, no matter how small. These slight advances call for voiced commendation of persons connected with institutions who have fostered these changes. Also, a careful written record should be kept, telling the particular way that their job was done. In this fashion a substantial body of supportive evidence is gradually assembled. There is brought about in the community itself much better understanding of problems peculiar to institutional living. Positive rather than negative characteristics will come more to the front. Eventually acquirements such as these become very persuasive and helpful. This is so, despite hampering traditions and emotional blind spots that per-

sistently affect so adversely institutional services for children.

CHANGE FROM WITHIN

It should be remembered that indigenous activities, that is, those moving from the inside out, are likely to accomplish much more, in the long run, than the use of outside coercion. Therefore, processes like teaching, guiding, sharing, and demonstrating afford methods of approach that customarily bring the finest results where institutional variations are being sought. They lead the persons who are directly responsible for the care of children in these institutions to undertake voluntary appraisals of some aspects of their facilities and services. Staffs and boards of directors tend to introduce innovations more readily when doing so is an optional matter on their part.

In most institutional situations, except where dire conditions continuously prevail or where there is a menace to individual or group safety, the welfare agency achieves more with the institution in question by restraining its authority and using carefully its case-work and group-work skills. Here is a practical place where the special ability of social workers can be used tellingly. It is opportune for communities that there are qualified official persons who can give a kind of unique leadership this way.

Often, a close and lasting rapport is established between the personnel of a children's home, its trustees, and the welfare department merely by helping definitely and well certain of the boys and girls about whom there has been uncertainty and a mounting anxiety in the institution. The favorable relationship that such productive contacts entail brings forth understanding, respect, and co-operative effort. A healthy displeasure of institutional workers themselves grows because there is voluntary awareness of

their poor methods and faulty results. This potent but not defensive feeling whets their quest for doing a better, more productive job helping children.

CO-OPERATIVE PROGRESS

Interco-operation frequently gets off to a good start, and it continues to thrive easily, that is, where welfare workers get such a small but friendly toe hold in an institution. As a result, requests for special assistance and counsel begin to multiply and grow wider reaching. Sometimes new programs and better performance norms appear, and these benefit children immensely. Sometimes conditions stand still until a new occasion promotes a burst of progress. This may count for a great deal because necessary groundwork has already been done. Institutional changes, coming this way, are often more acceptable and certain than they are when legal mandates are resorted to and modification has to depend upon authoritative power vested by the state in the welfare agency.

Putting the situation more simply, the fact is that, when public welfare workers actually get to helping local children's homes with their fundamental problems—particularly the intake and discharge of cases (constant weak spots in most institutional organization)—the most strategic step toward their general improvement has been taken. To experience firsthand what it is that the case-work approach of the public welfare worker to children's needs means toward making a children's home a more efficient, happier place for children creates a favorable emotional climate for making further improvement. This frequently brings in its wake pressing insistences on the part of staff leaders that really drastic modification of the institution's total philosophy and practice be determined upon and begun. However, it is a sound precautionary measure to be very sure, before any

suggestions for the improvement of an institution are made by welfare workers, that its staff has actual proof, or at least an abiding belief, that what this representative from the outside comes bearing can have real meaning and definite use to them. When this is so, there is readier acceptance of different viewpoints, and greater gains are more likely to accrue.

REALISTIC APPROACH

Two additional factors, less tangible in their nature, amplify further the special services that workers with public welfare agencies attempt to provide institutions for children. The first has to do with the necessity of each such worker having an effective understanding of the deep-set difficulties that always are experienced in the administration of an institution. The second concerns a matter which was pointed out earlier, that is, the social anomaly of having "the pot calling the kettle black." Unless the welfare agency itself functions satisfactorily and furnishes competently all the general services that it has a legal mandate to supply, it is incongruous to believe that its workers can offer much guidance and aid to a children's institution asking for help. A weak social service is in a very poor position to lead and counsel another one that also has serious trouble reaching its goals.

With regard to the first matter—factors that make institutional administration peculiarly hard and exacting—it should be said, in addition, that there is probably no social problem more complicated than trying to raise other people's children reasonably well. When this is attempted in an institutional setting, there are all kinds of overt sociological and psychological hazards to be dealt with. The usual administrative problems of institutional management are much enhanced. Besides situations pertaining directly to the growth and development of individual children, there are present

such issues as limited financing, different staff procurement and supervision, and the costly maintenance of buildings and grounds.

It often requires a battle to secure even the modicum of safe and healthy surroundings needed for a child's everyday living. Strangely enough, the public, and oftentimes the official inspector as well, evaluates carefully only these physical concomitants. This stressing of superficial appearances and fiscal matters tends to skew the institutional staff away from children's basic welfare toward the superficial aspects of group living. When public welfare workers have occasion to help, criticize, or advise in institutional situations where their co-operation is asked, total situations must be considered. The impossible must not be expected, but fundamental qualities pertaining to the individual child's successful growth and development have to be fully recognized, intelligently weighed, and dutifully worked upon.

DYNAMIC FUNCTIONING

The decalogue that follows presents ten urgent commandments that can serve as a tentative guide for making institutional changes. Each relates, in direct or indirect fashion, to practical ways that public welfare assists, and may influence even more, the care and training of children in the institutions of the United States. Heeding one or several can mean considerable modification in practices and goals. If all are enthusiastically followed, it can be surmised that the unsatisfactory aspects of institutional services for children today will largely disappear. New commendable characteristics will take their place and augment greatly the good ones already present. Used as a whole, because wholes are known to be something different and greater than the sum of parts, this decalogue, or its better successor, may generate a spirit strong

and durable enough to overcome many obstacles that stand in the way today of children's institutions making greater progress.

1. Put forth intelligent effort, as citizen and social worker, to fortify and improve as far as possible family living for everyone in the community and nation; this is vital, both psychologically and sociologically, to total social welfare.

2. Grasp more firmly the basic principle that a secure, happy home is the best place for a child's growth and development; use it diligently to avoid the painful separation of children from their parents.

3. Study and foster legislation in order to widen the coverage of public aid and social insurance and to increase reasonably all the grants given.

4. Co-operate closely and effectively with other welfare agencies of the community and state; urge joint thinking and functioning on cases and programs, wherever need is indicated; aid in interpreting results to the supporting public.

5. Encourage more extended use by the community of the welfare department's specialized services; help families and neighborhoods by meeting the case-work problems brought to the agency as promptly and competently as possible.

6. Give case-work service to children now in institutions, or who may need to be there, where professional assistance is required and is sought from the welfare agency because the institution has limited or no professional staff. Aiding in the problems of institutional intake and discharge is often the most appreciated and convincing help provided.

7. Insist that the welfare department meets completely and well legal mandates which concern social services and which are its direct responsibility.

8. Promote and aid meaningful research, especially in connection with the problems of children locally, in the state,

and nationally.

9. Conduct pilot projects pertaining directly to child welfare, where experimental thinking and effort may demonstrate how to secure more favorable help for children and families requiring special attention.

10. Evaluate regularly the total service of the welfare department and of its individual workers so as to assure improvement and progress and the advantageous realignment of its efforts and duties.

Taken together, these items provide a suitable frame of reference for alleviating many limitations children meet in public and private institutions the country over. While these have been written as arbitrary orders, it is not intended that they be considered so. Rather the blueprint which they form is an earnest entreaty to public welfare workers that they get themselves and their agency ready to give more, abler help, along with others, to this consequential institutional group of growing and developing children.

SOCIAL WELFARE GOAL

It is very important that each child shall have the fullest opportunity to live happily and usefully, now and when he is grown up. To have this, the extra help of all public welfare agencies is much needed at this particular time.

The thesis here is that departments of public welfare can take a very important part in helping institutions make further child welfare advances. The main question is whether or not this challenge will be accepted. What can be done pragmatically to put into actual practice the simple proposals just presented? Whenever and whenever the welfare of children is at all threatened in this nation, we cannot afford to leave a single stone unturned in their behalf. So very much depends on what is done and how it works out.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

INDUSTRIAL SOCIAL WORKERS IN CHILE

ROBERT J. ALEXANDER

SOCIAL workers are doing a particularly significant job in Chile. They are playing a very important part in the industrialization of that country, in raising the standards of living of the workers, and in changing Chile from a nation with a backward economy, based upon semifeudal agriculture and the export of minerals, to one with a balanced, modern economic system.

Countries, such as those of Latin America, which are building up new manufacturing industries are faced with peculiar problems, some of which social workers can help resolve. In their attempts to become industrial countries these nations are greatly handicapped by the lack of trained workers in their new industries. Rural laborers come into the factories from the countryside, where they have lived as virtual serfs. They have worked very long hours for little return; it has made little difference whether or not they worked a bit more or a bit less, a little better or a little worse, since they did not earn enough in any case to make it worth while.

This lack of incentive these ex-agricultural workers bring with them into industry. One of the most difficult tasks which factory- and mine-managers have is to arouse in the workers the conviction that it will pay them to accept the discipline and routine characteristic of industrial employment.

Forward-looking employers in Chile use various methods to try to accustom their workers to employment in a factory. One of the most important of these is the provision of adequate housing fa-

cilities. Family allowances and a state-administered compulsory health scheme (which is often supplemented by further medical aid at the expense of the employer) also play a big part in this process.

Women social workers have been very helpful in building an efficient urban working class. The employment of these professional people has been one of the most interesting methods which Chilean employers have used to raise the living and working standards of their employees. The position of these women varies with the individual employer. In some instances they are quite frankly at the service of the employers; in other cases the employers try to use them as a go-between with the workers; and in some places the *visitadoras sociales*, as they are called, are generally at the service of the workers.

About fifty factories in Chile have at least one *visitadora social*. Thirty-seven of those who answered a questionnaire which this writer circulated among the leading industrial concerns of Chile replied that they had social workers in their employ, while eighty-six stated that they did not have them. Many of the employers replying to the questionnaire spoke highly of the activities and usefulness of the social workers. In only one or two cases did the writer find that an employer had experimented with having a social worker and had not continued the policy.¹

¹ The writer spent six months in Chile in 1946-47, collecting material for a study of labor relations in that country. He visited most of the larger in-

When the first industrial social workers started working in Chile, they found difficulties with both the employers and the workers. The principal trouble they encountered with the former was in connection with requests which they made for things which the employers were not willing to grant or in which they thought the social workers ought not to meddle, such as petitions for more just wages for some workers, suggestions for organization of labor of women so as to avoid night work or work unsuited for them, or interventions in favor of workers unjustly fired.

In the case of the workers, the difficulties of *visitadoras sociales* were more serious, since, in the beginning, the unions—which are quite strong in Chile—declared themselves against social workers because they were considered company agents, and it was said that these women were being used to break the unions. Since the social workers had to ask rather intimate family questions in connection with their duties, this feeling—that the *visitadora social* was merely the employer's representative investigating the private lives of the workers—was reinforced. There was a further feeling that the *visitadora* was trying to find out the political views of the workers and that this information would be used to fire "undesirable" workers. However, as one commentator noted:

Experience soon demonstrated to the workers their mistake in face of the point of view which the *visitadoras sociales* held, and they reacted, giving the social workers their confidence, using and recommending their services and even co-operating in their work.²

This writer did not find any trade-union actively hostile to these industrial social workers.

Industrial and mining establishments in the country. Most of what follows is gathered from personal observation and conversations with employers, workers, and social workers.

The *visitadoras* have served an exceedingly useful purpose in informing the employers of bad living and working conditions of which they could not have known otherwise. Many employers were previously unaware of the bad situations endured by their employees, and the *visitadoras* were able to describe these to them.

The Lota coal-mining company was the first to establish an industrial social service system on August 11, 1927, when the first social worker was appointed to take care of the company's eight thousand workers. *La Nación*, the Santiago newspaper, employed a social worker in 1929, the sugar refinery in Viña del Mar in 1929, the Braden copper company in 1931, the Schwager coal-mining company in 1932, and the Puente Alto paper-manufacturing company in the same year, while the El Melón cement company employed its first social worker in 1933, and the Santiago gas company its first in 1935.

In 1937 the school for social workers affiliated with the Catholic University in Santiago, the Escuela Elvira Matte de Cruchaga, established a central social service office to co-ordinate the work of the industrial social service workers. The Escuela Elvira Matte is one of several schools for social workers in Chile, the first of which was the Escuela de Servicio Social, established in 1925 by the Junta de Beneficencia, the government body which administers most of the country's hospitals.³

Most of the social service workers now employed in Chilean industry are proba-

² Speech of Alfredo Bowen, professor of sociology in the Elvira Matte de Cruchaga social workers school, before the First Pan-American Social Service Congress in Santiago, September, 1945.

³ Speech by Sra. Luz Tocornal de Romero, director of the social service school of the Junta de Beneficencia, at the First Pan-American Social Service Congress in Santiago, September, 1945.

bly graduates of one of these specialized schools of social service. A few of these workers have had further training in the United States and elsewhere. However, this writer encountered a few employers who did not like to employ these school-trained workers, in view of the fact that, although they may have learned more scientific facts about such subjects as psychology, many of them were said to have lost the human touch and the human sympathy essential to the work of a successful industrial social worker.

The subjects with which the social worker in Chilean industry has to deal are complex. Perhaps the most important are family problems. For example, extralegal marital relations are very frequent among the Chilean workers, and many families do not incur the trouble and expense of a formal marriage, blessed by church and state. It is, therefore, frequently the job of the *visitadoras sociales* to try to get the workers who are living with women to marry them and to adopt the children. These social workers make regular visits to the homes of the workers so that they can really get to know the problems which face the laborers and their families, as well as aid in the solution of these difficulties.

The Chilean industrial social workers frequently have some kind of administrative work. For instance, many employers pay extra money to those of their employees who have families, and in some companies the control of the family allowance scheme is put in the hands of the social worker. In many cases the *visitadora social* is intrusted with the selection of those who are to occupy employer-built housing projects, since it is felt that she is in the best position to prevent the mixing of immoral individuals in such a community, as well as to determine which families are most in need of accommodations.

Some *visitadoras* have also been intrusted with control of the granting and use of loans by employers to their workers. The custom of workers borrowing money from their employers is very widespread in Chile—in part, at least, because the workers' incomes are so small as to leave them with very scant resources in times of crisis; the service of industrial social workers in this field is, therefore, very important. Before a loan is granted, it is frequently the custom for the social worker to make a survey as to the need for the loan. She also tries to discourage workers from making a habit of living on borrowed money.

Many social workers are called upon to perform the somewhat tricky operation of convincing the husbands to give their wives sufficient money to keep the household running before they go out and spend the contents of the week's pay envelope. The still conservative ideas of the average Chilean male—particularly of the working class—about the position of women in society and the home, contribute to difficulties in this regard.

The *visitadora social* usually co-operates closely with the company doctor or with the doctor of the government's compulsory insurance fund in the case of workers who are sick or who have been injured. She supplies the physician with information as to the background of the family and also sends workers and their families to polyclinics and hospitals when she thinks they need medical care and treatment.

Sometimes the social workers do special work with the wives and daughters of the workers, organizing classes where these women can learn to read and write, teaching them sewing, and helping them with problems in connection with child-raising and their domestic economy. In some instances, the social workers have even established kindergartens. The

visitadora often checks on the attendance of the children at school, working with the teachers in this connection, and sometimes helps with the prevention of delinquency among the children of the workers in the industry by organizing sports and other activities for them.

It can be seen that the social workers in Chilean industry play a vital role in maintaining the morale of the workers and in helping them in the transition from the semifeudal agrarian way of life to the higher standard of living and increased discipline of modern industrial life. It is important that these social workers not only have a sympathetic outlook but that they be well trained. Most of the industrial *visitadoras sociales*

whom this writer met were young women of considerable intelligence and human sympathy, and most of them also appeared to be well trained.

The principal criticism of the system of industrial social workers in Chile would seem to be that the *visitadoras* are overworked. Generally there is not more than one such worker in a factory. One employer who answered our questionnaire reported that he had four *visitadoras* on the pay roll, but this is very unusual. In any case, the industrial social workers are playing a vital role in the development of Chilean industry and in the organization of a stable, intelligent, and healthy industrial wage-earning class.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

SOPHONISBA PRESTON BRECKINRIDGE

AMONG the many expressions of appreciation of the life and work of Sophonisba Breckinridge, our readers will, we think, be especially interested in resolutions from three organizations, the American Association of Social Workers, the Illinois Child Labor Committee, and the Immigrants' Protective League.

The resolution by the 1949 Delegate Conference of the American Association of Social Workers "In Memory of Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge" reads as follows:

WHEREAS, This Association and the profession it represents sustained a great loss in the death of Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge on July 30, 1948;

WHEREAS, Miss Breckinridge was one of the group of pioneers who worked untiringly to make of social work a true profession dedicated not only to rendering service with respect for the dignity of the individual but also to finding the means of preventing his need for service;

WHEREAS, To the development of this profession, she brought a brilliant mind trained and disciplined in the older profession of law, a spirit of adventure which refused to be bound by accepted ways of thinking and acting, and a burning zeal for humanity which never let her rest until her purpose was accomplished;

WHEREAS, She was among the first to insist that a democratic society had a responsibility to develop public social services needed by the people, manned by professionally competent workers selected on a merit basis and protected from the pressure of party politics; and she remained through good years and bad their loyal supporter, staunch defender, and constructive critic;

WHEREAS, Her vision, which reached beyond horizons then visible to others, led her to devote herself to the development of a broad program of professional education with high standards

of scholarship to prepare workers for public as well as private services;

WHEREAS, Many members of this Association throughout its various chapters have been inspired and stimulated by her to an awareness of their high responsibilities; and

WHEREAS, She saw in this organization an important means to advance the profession and improve its standards and to this end was one of the founders of the Chicago Chapter and gave unstintingly of her time and services as chairman and as a working member;

Be it resolved, That the American Association of Social Workers gratefully acknowledge its debt to Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge for her inestimable contribution to the formulation and advancement of the goals for which this Association now stands.

And be it further resolved, That this resolution be made a part of the permanent record of this Delegate Conference; that it be sent to . . . , the University of Chicago, the Breckinridge Chapter of the AASW, and that it be published in the Social Work Journal.

Then from the Child Labor Committee came the following:

Resolved: That the Executive Committee of the Illinois Child Labor Committee express its appreciation of the outstanding contribution made by Miss Sophonisba Breckinridge throughout the years to the work of the Committee. The Executive Committee feels that the Illinois Child Labor Committee has sustained a great loss.

The members of the Executive Committee wish to express their gratitude for an opportunity to have worked with a woman of Miss Breckinridge's character and foresight. Her passing leaves all who worked with her with a marked sense of loss.

[Signed] HENRY L. KOHN, *Chairman*

Then there was the resolution of the Immigrants' Protective League, of which she had been one of the founders and a most loyal friend.

RESOLUTION

UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE IMMIGRANTS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE AT THEIR MEETING ON NOVEMBER 15, 1948

WHEREAS, In the death of Sophonisba Breckinridge, we mourn a revered friend and greatly valued counselor and co-worker, the Immigrants' Protective League records its grateful recognition of her long and loyal devotion to the cause, and its deep sense of loss:

Sophonisba Breckinridge was a valiant member of that band of rare and great spirits, allied through concern for their fellow-men who formed the Hull House group. Their love of humanity, their striving for a deeper and broader justice, their zeal for progress in human relations became a basic influence, not only in Chicago's social attitudes and program, but, far beyond the local sphere, in national and even world concepts of human rights.

To Sophonisba Breckinridge no just cause was alien from her sympathies and concern. Dedicated to social service, she was for a half-century associated with the University of Chicago in the division which became its School of Social Service Administration, and in which she was named Professor. Her teachings, her writings, and all her tireless labor were inspired by the single motive—to achieve greater justice for the less protected people everywhere. To attain the goal, she believed, was possible through education and determination, but then only by self-dedication to the cause. She urged this upon her students, and her own singleness of purpose set the pattern.

She had the gift of imparting her own spiritual zeal; countless disciples have gone away to spread it further. Modest, approachable and wholly selfless, she appeared to see in herself only an instrumentality in a great cause.

It was in that spirit forty years ago she joined with others of the Hull House group to form the Immigrants' Protective League. The founders were all too familiar with the hardships, the hazards, and the exploitation to which newcomers to our country were exposed. The League was to be the answer. It was to be their friend, to guide and instruct them, to represent them in relations with government agencies, to lead them into the safe harbor of citizenship. Through these forty years, first as Secretary and then as a member of the Board, the devotion of Miss Breckinridge never swerved. Despite advancing years and an over-full program, she was

ready and generous in service to the League. To its professional leaders she gave her friendship, her wisdom in consultation, her support and guidance in difficult problems. To the Board she brought her firm convictions and judicious counsel, yet unless her conception of actual justice was involved she was ready to listen, to consider, to yield. The modesty of the truly great was always apparent in her attitude. Yet always there was her eager, vital interest, and her informed familiarity with the problems of the immigrant and the technical angles of approach to them.

To have been associated with Sophonisba Breckinridge in service was a rare privilege, and the League acknowledges its gratitude for the gift of her comradeship. It will miss her sorely from its councils. But association with so great a mind and spirit as hers leaves an indelible impress. The League will remember and draw inspiration from the wisdom, the constancy in service, the selfless, generous love of humanity of Sophonisba Breckinridge. Therefore be it

Resolved: That this Resolution be inscribed in the minutes of the Immigrants' Protective League. . . .

DR. ELIOT GOES TO WHO

AN ARTICLE by Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau, about Dr. Martha Eliot, which was published in the *Child*,¹ will be interesting to our readers. We are therefore reprinting this article with our good wishes to Dr. Eliot, who is now in Geneva.

When Dr. Martha M. Eliot, our Associate Chief, leaves the Children's Bureau in June to become Assistant Director General of the World Health Organization she will be taking a logical step in a career of ever-widening activity and leadership.

Dr. Eliot came from a line of pioneers in intellectual and spiritual affairs. From childhood her character was shaped toward devotion to the search for truth, compassionate understanding of her fellow men, and development of her great resources of mind and spirit.

After graduating from Radcliffe College she was for a time a medical social worker, and this experience led her to study medicine.

¹ XIII (May, 1949), 176.

Three years after receiving her medical degree at Johns Hopkins she joined the pediatrics staff of Yale University School of Medicine, where she did clinical and research work as well as teaching. Soon Grace Abbott, then Chief of the Children's Bureau, persuaded her to enter the Children's Bureau, assuring her that she could continue her work at New Haven through arrangements between the Bureau and the university. For 10 years she engaged in notable studies of the growth and development of children, especially demonstrations of community programs for prevention and control of rickets. Her interests, however, began to branch out from clinical practice and research, in which field she had won an international reputation, into application of medical knowledge through community organization and national programs.

In 1934 Dr. Eliot came to Washington to become Assistant Chief of the Children's Bureau. Her first job was to develop the basis for the maternal and child-health and crippled children's provisions of the Social Security Act. After the act was passed, in 1935, it was Dr. Eliot's resourcefulness and know-how that translated the legislation into a working program. She was quick to see the importance of advisory committees consisting of both lay and professional members. She studied at first hand the problems of the States. And she showed great administrative ability. At the same time she was giving leadership to the Bureau's research activities in the field of maternal and child health. She gave personal attention to the Bureau's bulletins for parents.

When British civilians were bombed Dr. Eliot studied methods of protecting children in case similar danger came to the United States. She went to England in 1941 as a member of a War Department mission to study civil defense there and later was lent to the Office of Civilian Defense, to advise it on plans of evacuation of children and other aspects of civil defense. Her outstanding wartime work, however, was organization and direction of the Emergency Maternity and Infant Care Program, under which more than 1,500,000 servicemen's wives and infants received maternity and infancy care through State health departments, paid for by Federal funds supplied through the Children's Bureau.

Since the war Dr. Eliot has worked to improve State and community health services for

mothers and children and to lay the foundation for expanded research in child life.

Dr. Eliot's international activities on behalf of children began with a study of maternal and child-health activities in Europe in 1935. She has since worked with the League of Nations and with UNRRA, and was vice chairman of the U.S. delegation to the International Health Conference in 1946. She was one of the three United States delegates to the first World Health Assembly, in 1948, and is chairman of WHO's maternal and child-health committee.

In the World Health Organization Dr. Eliot will be responsible for operations in the broad field of public health.

Dr. Eliot has given a quarter of a century to working toward the goal of a fair deal and an even chance for every child in the United States. Now her concern will be the children of the world.

The Children's Bureau will continue to bear the stamp of her leadership, resourcefulness, comradeship, and devotion. The contribution that she has made to its work through the years can never be replaced.

THE HOUSING VICTORY

THE *American Federationist* claims that when the House of Representatives passed the housing bill by a vote of 228 to 185 this was a major victory for organized labor. The bill, which provides for public housing, slum clearance, housing research, and farm housing, had already passed the Senate by a vote of 57 to 13.

Since 1944, when the AF of L, together with veterans, church groups, social agencies, and many other organizations, drew plans for a postwar housing program, this program (the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill) was blocked by a small minority in the Seventy-ninth and Eightieth congresses.

Soon after the November, 1948, elections, the sixty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously went on record in favor of immediate enactment of housing legislation in the Eighty-first Congress, including a million-unit public housing program. Two months later, in his annual message to Congress, the President recommended a public housing pro-

gram of this size. The AF of L recommendations, with only slight changes, were embodied in the bills introduced in Congress.

The *American Federationist* therefore believes that the passage of the housing bill was a "tremendous victory for organized labor," which meant that for the first time adequate recognition would be given to the housing needs of our lowest group. The further statement is made that this is only the first step—that "there are millions of moderate income families with incomes ranging from \$2,500 to \$4,000 who are without adequate housing today. These families cannot afford new housing and yet do not have incomes low enough to make them eligible for public housing." Special legislation will be necessary "to provide long-term federal loans at low interest rates—*entirely without subsidy*—to groups of these families joined together in co-operative and mutual housing organizations." More than forty congressmen have introduced bills in this session of Congress to provide for this kind of program. However, the *Federationist* again notes that the "hard-won victory in the fight for the public housing bill should give us encouragement to work just as hard to secure decent housing for moderate income families."

The *New York Times* thinks that the new housing program will start slowly but in its allotted six years will cover nearly every large American city and many smaller ones in a \$7,000,000,000 building drive. Already sixty-one cities, in states where laws now permit subsidized low-rent housing, are said to have plans in varied stages of readiness for about 256,000 units.

Raymond M. Foley, administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, estimates that only 50,000 units at most will have been started in the next twelve months.

The *Times* thinks that one important by-product of the low-rent shelter program—its stimulus to the construction and building-materials industry—will not come immediately into play. It will provide longer-range support into the middle of the next decade.

These trends are indicated:

1. Rentals, based on income and not size of family, will range from \$10 a month, the minimum in Memphis and Phoenix, to a maximum of \$55 in Syracuse. They will be 20 to 70 per cent below the cost of comparable private housing. . . .

2. The average costs of projects will range from \$11,000 for each family unit in New York, and \$10,000 in Chicago and Boston, down to \$6,000 in Columbus and \$5,500 in Phoenix. A medium figure is \$8,500, the cost in Memphis.

3. All but six states have legislation permitting local public housing authorities to proceed. The six are Utah, Iowa, Oklahoma, Wyoming, Kansas, and South Dakota. At least five others have no announced plan, Idaho, North Dakota, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Twenty-two states have no slum clearance legislation.

The American Municipal Association, in a slum clearance survey, reported that some cities would turn the cleared areas into low-rent projects. Some will hand them to private developers. Others will fashion new downtown parks, boulevards, and playgrounds. . . .

The only official Government survey of local housing plans was begun in 1945 and finished in 1946. It covered the three-year building plans of the cities, in anticipation of postwar unemployment.

Except for Chicago, the largest cities generally have raised their sights on public housing. New York plans 60,000 units as against 19,300 four years ago; Philadelphia 19,000, instead of 9,750; Detroit 17,290, instead of 6,000; Los Angeles 10,000, instead of 5,000.

On the other hand, St. Louis proposed 12,000 units four years ago, but now has 1,248 definitely scheduled. Cincinnati has dropped from 2,850 to 2,000; Dallas from 2,800 to 1,200; Miami from 3,500 to 1,000. Richmond has none now scheduled; it proposed 1,800 in 1945.

On their face, the replies might seem to indicate that the Government has set up a more ambitious public housing program than the cities are ready to take on. But HHFA officials point out that few cities now are familiar with the financing terms.

TRAINING STATISTICIANS

COMPLAINTS regarding the need for statisticians are now heard in England. A recent copy of the *Manchester Guardian* contains the following statement under the above title:

For many years now there has been an acute shortage of trained statisticians as a result both of the growth of statistics and of the lack of facilities for training. In an attempt to ease the problem the Association of Incorporated Statisticians was formed some months ago with Lord Beveridge as president. . . .

Unlike the Royal Statistical Society, the association will be empowered to hold examinations and give degrees (which means that statisticians will for the first time be provided with professional status), and a syllabus of study has been drawn up. The field will naturally be a more concentrated one than that covered by students of statistics at the universities (where this subject is generally merged with economics), but the emphasis will be practical rather than academic. It is emphasised that membership of the association will be a "recognised hall-mark of competence."

HISTORICAL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1789-1945

THE *American Statistician*, which is the "news service" of the American Statistical Association, has been interested in the important statistical summary of American social and economic development since 1789 issued by the United States Bureau of the Census and prepared with the co-operation of the Social Science Research Council. This volume, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945*, is the promised historical supplement to the annual *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, which has been for seventy years our official statistical year-book.

A further statement about this important and successful work is as follows:

The new historical volume provides government officials, businessmen, librarians, economists, teachers, and students with a statistical reference volume which brings together nearly 3,000 statistical time series of annual data, carried back to 1789 where possible. Broad subject fields covered are wealth and income; population characteristics, immigration, and naturalization; vital statistics, health, and nutrition; labor force, wages, hours, and working conditions; agriculture; land, forestry, and fisheries; minerals and power; construction and housing; manufacturers; transportation (including rail-

road, shipping, roads, and air transport); prices; international balance of payments and foreign trade; banking and finance; government (including elections and politics, government employment, Federal finances, copyrights and patents, and State and local government finances). A special appendix contributed by the National Bureau of Economic Research provides monthly and quarterly figures, similarly carried back in time, for 30 statistical series which are recognized as useful indicators of business conditions.

The book provides data for immediate use and serves as a starting point and guide to original sources of data for those wishing greater detail, discussion, or explanation. The text provides definitions of terms and brief annotation, together with specific statements of sources.

While the volume was planned, assembled, and edited by the Statistical Abstract staff in the Bureau of the Census, statistics were provided by virtually all statistical agencies of government and by many private organizations. The Social Science Research Council established the Committee on the Source Book of Historical Statistics, J. Frederic Dewhurst, Chairman, to advise with the Bureau of the Census in the planning and compilation. The project is the outgrowth of the work of the joint committee of the American Statistical Association and the American Economic Association, established in 1945 to explore a proposal made by . . . the Twentieth Century Fund.

The Committee on Research and Economic History of the Social Science Research Council contributed funds so that the Source Book Advisory Committee could appoint an executive secretary to work full-time with the Bureau of the Census on the project.

CHILD ACCIDENTS

THAT twelve thousand children between the ages of one and fourteen died last year as a result of accidents emphasizes the responsibility of all agencies and individuals who know of these tragedies to "study, develop, and apply effective measures for the control of mortality and morbidity resulting from accidents."

An important article on this subject¹ points out that "although the accident

¹"Can Child Accidents Be Prevented in Your Community?" by D. B. Armstrong, M.D., F.A.P.H.A., and W. Graham Cole, in *American Journal of Public Health*, XXXIX (May, 1949).

death rate among insured children in the age group 1 through 14 showed a 29 per cent reduction during a recent 15 year period, this decline was not consistent and compares unfavorably with the reduction in child deaths due to disease." The article continues:

As a result, accidents today represent the first cause of death among children and present a major child health problem. While much remains to be learned through research regarding the underlying physical and emotional factors responsible for accidents and involved in accident proneness, still we are far from utilizing fully our present knowledge as to the prevention and control of accidents.

In an effort to stimulate more interest in the subject of child safety, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company with the cosponsorship of the Children's Bureau of the Federal Security Agency, the American Academy of Pediatrics, and the National Safety Council, has launched a continuous child safety program. It is the distinct purpose of this program—

- i. To encourage parents, other adults, and older children responsible for the health and happiness of younger children to
 - a) recognize the accident hazards confronting young children;
 - b) provide and maintain safe conditions for the child in the home and at play;
 - c) help the child, through example and guidance, to develop safe practices.
2. To encourage public health, medical, and other interested agencies to give added emphasis to child safety in their own programs.

The effectiveness of any effort to reduce the frequency and severity of child accidents will in the final analysis depend upon the steps taken by each community throughout the nation to study the child accident problem and to stimulate individual and collective control measures within its area of influence. The seriousness of this problem justifies such community action on an organized and sustained basis. Although local problems may warrant special emphasis and adaptation, child safety activities, where practical, should be integrated into the overall health and safety program of the community.

As a guide to organizations or individuals interested in planning or developing a continuous community child safety program, this article lists the more important studies and activities which warrant consideration. It is recognized that all these studies and activities may not be

appropriate for every community and that additional suggestions may be developed as a result of a study of the local situation. . . .

AN ORGANIZATION MEETING

In addition to the leadership of the sponsoring agency, a sustained program to control child accidents in a community will require the support and active participation of such official agencies as the board of education, and the police, fire, hospital, building inspection, and park departments; as well as the co-operative efforts of nonofficial agencies having an interest in the conservation of child life. To develop this support and participation, and to discuss plans for a co-operative child safety program, a meeting of representatives of interested official and nonofficial agencies is desirable. Among the non-official agencies which might be invited to send representatives to such a meeting may be listed:

County Medical Society
 Other Professional Societies, including Medical, Dental, and Nursing
 Visiting Nurse Association
 Health Organizations
 Safety Council or Other Safety Organizations
 Social Service Agencies
 Youth Organizations (Boy and Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, 4H Clubs, etc.)
 Women's Organizations
 Automobile Club
 Parent-Teacher Associations
 Red Cross Chapter
 Service and Luncheon Clubs
 Insurance Club
 Neighborhood Associations
 Patriotic Groups
 The Local Press

The invitation to attend this preliminary meeting might be sent by the sponsoring agency, which should develop and arrange for the meeting; or the invitation might well be issued by the mayor in behalf of the sponsoring agency. A serious child accident or a series of child accidents in the community, accidents in nearby communities, or the existence of a particular local hazard to child safety will usually prove an effective motivating influence and might be given as one of the reasons for calling the meeting. . . .

Suggested community activities include "an inventory of local organizations," which might be conducted under the auspices of the newly organized child safety commission; obtaining facts regarding child acci-

dents; a survey of physical conditions affecting child safety. Among the areas justifying study in most communities to determine child accident hazards are the following: the home and its environment; the school premises; playground and public recreational areas; traffic conditions; press publicity; radio; safety education in schools, supplemental safety education; meetings and addresses; exhibits and demonstrations; distribution of material.

SALARIES OF SOCIAL WORKERS

IN NOVEMBER, 1948, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics made a survey of the salaries, hours, and economic status of social workers in Michigan. In co-operation with one of the nation's general social work organizations, the Bureau's Division of Wage Analysis says with regard to salaries:

The average annual salary for social work positions in Michigan in November 1948 amounted to \$3,100. One out of four workers in such positions was receiving less than \$2,650 a year, and a corresponding proportion more than \$3,850. The average for men was \$3,700, that for women \$2,880. The higher earnings of men were traceable partly to differences in pay for the same type of position, and partly to employment of men in the more responsible positions in greater proportions than women. In some positions, earnings of men were a fourth above those of women, although a slightly higher proportion of women than of men reported graduate study in social work.

That is, to describe the situation a little more plainly, we can say that, although the women were better prepared by graduate study in their field, the men were given better positions at higher salaries.

A further statement regarding the "work week" was as follows:

A scheduled work week of 40 hours applied to two-thirds of the workers studied—four-fifths of the government employees and three-eighths of the workers in non-governmental organizations. In private organizations almost a fifth of the workers reported a shorter work week schedule of 37½ hours, and an eighth a longer work week of more than 48 hours. Overtime was occasionally required of 7 out of 10 workers, half

of whom reported they were compensated, usually in the form of time off rather than by additional pay.

SOCIAL COSTS IN THE UNITED STATES

THAT we spend thirteen billion dollars annually through public and private agencies for social security, health, correction, welfare, and recreation is commented on by the *New York Times*, with special attention to a report by the Community Research Associates, Inc., a nonprofit group engaged in social work studies and surveys for agencies and communities. Bradley Buell, the executive director in general charge of the survey, noted that "this huge sum shows the extent to which these services have come to be regarded as a common necessity for everyday living." The *Times* points out that this expenditure is "exceeded only by the costs of food, clothing, transportation, housing, and national defense."

It is explained that the thirteen billions we spend include both public and private funds and cover federal, state, and local assistance; veterans' benefits other than for education; public health and hospital care; child welfare services; recreation programs; and the support of correctional and reformatory institutions, as well as privately supported health, hospital, welfare, and recreation services.

Bradley Buell is quoted further in the *Times* as follows: "Most of the parts needed for a smoothly functioning structure of community services have already been developed as a result of the discoveries of social and medical science and the increasing competence of professional specialists." Mr. Buell then added, "Now we must learn how to put these parts together in a more efficient over-all pattern for using total community resources to meet total family needs."

The survey which announced the thirteen billions total was based on reports of specialists in health, welfare, and recreation who, in the last fifteen years, have conducted surveys in more than a hundred communities.

THE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE BILLS (S. 5 AND H.R. 783)

THE national health insurance bills still before the Congress as we go to press were introduced following the President's "State of the Union" message to the joint session. The President recommended "a system of prepaid medical insurance which will enable every American to afford good medical care," and he called for action "without further delay."

Briefly, this national health insurance program hopes to provide:

1. A system of health insurance, national in scope, and covering approximately 85 per cent of the population. This includes employees, self-employed persons in business for themselves and their dependents.

2. Insured persons eligible for benefits would be entitled to medical and dental service from general practitioners and specialists, home nursing care, hospital care, laboratory service, x-rays, expensive prescribed medicines, eye glasses and special appliances.

3. Free choice of doctor and dentist by the patient is guaranteed, as well as the right to change one's choice.

4. Every qualified doctor, dentist, nurse and hospital is guaranteed the right to participate or not, and to accept or reject patients. These guarantees apply to organized groups of practitioners, clinics, consumer cooperatives and similar health service plans as well as to individuals. Every hospital that participates is guaranteed freedom from governmental supervision or control.

5. Payments for services would be made from the insurance fund instead of the patients having to pay the costs directly. The method of payment is to be decided by the practitioners who furnish the service. The legislation contains guarantees that the amount of payment will be fair and adequate to physicians and hospitals.

6. Provision is made for grass-roots administration of the program. In each local area, administration would be carried out with the help and participation of local citizens, including members of the medical profession. Each state is given the right to administer the system through its own state agency, and to divide the State into local areas. The State plan must meet certain general requirements stated in the bill.

At the Federal level, the proposed administration is under a 5-man board, assisted by an advisory council of lay and professional people.

ASSIGNMENT OF FIRST SOCIAL WELFARE ATTACHÉS

THE assignment of the first social welfare attachés was announced in a recent issue of the *Department of State Bulletin*. The idea of having specialists in the field of social welfare attached to foreign posts at selected points has been discussed for many years by those social workers who believe that governmental agencies need more technical information about social welfare developments in foreign countries and "a better knowledge of their relationship to the political and economic conditions in those countries." The Federal Security Agency has been active in helping to develop the social welfare attaché program, and other federal departments, like the Bureau of Prisons of the Department of Justice, the Department of Labor, the Office of the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Bureau of Nutrition and Home Economics of the Department of Agriculture, have all been interested.

One of the appointments in this field is Miss Evelyn Hersey, a graduate of the Pennsylvania School of Social Work, formerly assistant to the United States Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, and, before that, service director for the American Committee for Christian Refugees. She has left for her post as social welfare attaché at New Delhi, India.

A second appointment is that of Irving J. Fasteau, a graduate of the New York School of Social Work, formerly supervisor of social service of the State Board of Child Welfare, New Jersey, and, immediately prior to that, chief of the UNRRA mission to Finland. He has been made social welfare attaché in the American embassy in Paris.

The State Department *Bulletin* indicates that the duties of a social welfare attaché will necessarily vary according to the conditions found at the particular post. However,

the duties will, in general, include the following types of activity:

(1) Providing information for the Department and other governmental and voluntary agencies regarding social-welfare developments and conditions in foreign countries. Fields of interest include: social insurance, financial assistance to low-income groups, child welfare, care of the physically and mentally handicapped and the aged, vocational rehabilitation, and treatment of the delinquent and criminal and the social aspects of housing.

(2) Informing the Department and other governmental and private agencies about both official and unofficial attitudes in the country to which an attaché is assigned concerning the programs of international organizations in the social field, particularly the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

(3) Appraising the effect, as well as some of the welfare aspects of American overseas aid programs, both governmental and voluntary; facilitating and aiding in the coordination of the work of United States public and private welfare agencies engaged in overseas programs affecting that country.

(4) Serving as a consultant in the Embassy on social-welfare problems of United States citizens and alien dependents of citizens brought to the attention of foreign posts.

At the present time the program is limited to two attaché posts. As the program develops, it is hoped that, through a positive demonstration of the efficacy of the services which social-welfare attachés may provide, the number may be increased. The attachés are Foreign Service Reserve officers and are administratively responsible to the Ambassadors of the posts to which they are assigned and to the Director General of the Foreign Service. The social-welfare attachés, as is true for the labor attachés, receive technical guidance from the Division of International Labor and Social Affairs located in the Office of International Trade Policy under the Assistant Secretary of State for economic affairs.

CHICAGO HOUSING IN 1949¹

IN SPITE of half a century of so-called "inspection of tenements" and in spite of praiseworthy private and public efforts to build houses for low-income families, the

housing problem remains largely unsolved. Every fresh piece of evidence brought to light underscores the wretched conditions under which thousands of parents are undertaking to bring up their children.

Among recent studies of housing is an interesting investigation by Miss Ellen Van Vliet, who is a special teacher for blind children in the Haven Elementary School in Chicago and a graduate student in the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago. Because her facts relate to a relatively small neighborhood with which she is intimately acquainted, Miss Van Vliet's material is characterized by a degree of vividness that is not always found in the ponderous testimony presented to congressional and other official committees.

The Haven Elementary School² serves a school district which extends from the Chicago River on the north to Twenty-first Street on the south and from Lake Michigan on the east to the south branch of the Chicago River on the west. This area is rich in local history. It was here that the Fort Dearborn massacre occurred. The hopeful, lusty Chicago of the eighteen forties and fifties and the suddenly wealthy Chicago of the sixties and seventies fell wholly within these limits. Here appeared Chicago's first "Gold Coast" when, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the mansions of the Pullman family, of the Marshall Field family, and of other pioneers arose along Prairie, Calumet, Michigan, and Indiana avenues. Back of this ornate Gold Coast, on the streets west of State Street, was the open, frontier red-light district of ornate gambling halls, saloons, and luxurious houses of ill repute.

Today the Haven School district still includes the heart of Chicago, the world-famous "Loop." "It still retains," says Miss Van Vliet's report, "vestiges of Gold Coast grandeur and red-light iniquity. The single-

¹ For this interesting note the editor is indebted to Miss Ellen Van Vliet and to Dr. Wayne McMullen, at whose suggestion the original study was prepared.

² Located at 1472 S. Wabash Avenue in Chicago.

family dwellings of the well-to-do have been taken over by business and professional organizations. Some have been torn down, leaving ugly empty lots filled with broken glass, bricks, and trash. Others have been converted into tiny 'kitchenettes' to house many families."

The Haven School was built in 1862 at a cost of \$23,000. It was one of the structures that escaped the great Chicago Fire of 1871. It stands on a lot measuring one hundred and fifty by one hundred and seventy feet. With busy Wabash Avenue on the east and an alley on the west, the only play space is provided by two small pockets, north and south of the structure itself, one of which is for girls and the other for boys.

Miss Van Vliet obtained information from 162 pupils—half from boys and half from girls—in the third to eighth grades, inclusive. About three-fourths of these pupils were Negroes. About half had been transferred into Haven Elementary School from out-of-town schools. Approximately 35 per cent had always lived in the neighborhood.

The housing reported by these boys and girls ranged from a single-family structure to a "converted" dwelling with three hundred families under one roof. One little girl said in her essay, "Things are rather crowded with five boys and girls sleeping in one room and Mother and Father in the other; I want room enough to walk without hitting someone."

The problem of room-overcrowding involves the difficult question of standards. In this study Miss Van Vliet adopted the admittedly low standard of 1.5 persons per room. By this standard a four-room flat would not be classified as overcrowded unless it housed more than six occupants. But, even with this low standard, only 60 of the 162 children were living in dwellings that met the test. Among the 102 children whose homes fell below this standard were the following typical situations: Nine children were members of three-person families occupying one room; 3 children were members of six-person families occupying one room; 1

child was a member of a nine-person family occupying two rooms; 3 children were members of twelve-person families occupying three rooms. And so the disgraceful record goes!

Only 28 per cent of the children reported a private bath and private flush toilet in the home. Of the remainder, 27 per cent reported a shared bath and toilet and 34 per cent reported a shared toilet and no bath. Toilets in the hall were reported by 96 children. In commenting on the plumbing one thirteen-year-old girl said: "I would like to have a bathroom in our house with a bath tub and a way no one could get in. We cannot keep ours clean because people come in it."

The homes of 35 children boasted the luxury of running hot and cold water. This luxury was available in the hallway in another 30 cases. The remainder of the families occupied "cold-water flats," 66 of them with the tap in the hallway and 26 with this convenience inside the dwelling unit.

In recent years most slum landlords have refused to spend a cent on cleaning or painting. Their accommodations were in great demand without any such improvement. Hence it was surprising to find that 76 per cent of the children reported some cleaning and decorating within the last five years. Most of this was undoubtedly done by the tenants themselves at their own expense to appease somewhat their desire for better standards of living.

The slum fires that have reaped such a grim harvest of lives in recent years in Chicago are often caused by defective heating. Among the 162 children at Haven School, 53 said that their homes were heated by a coal stove.

It is clear that the modern public-housing projects on the South Side represent to most of the pupils at Haven School the great dream of their lives. Almost half stated outright that they would like to move into a "project house," and the descriptions offered by many of the others indicated that their ideals reflected standards they had seen at the "projects." One boy framed his

wishes as follows: "I would like to live in a project with an upstairs in it, and in the front of the house two trees on each side with a flower bed around it and green grass."

Modern standards insist that a good house in a bad neighborhood is not good housing, since children live outdoors as well as indoors. At Haven School 48 girls and 11 boys admitted that they were afraid to go home after dark. One sixteen-year-old girl living in a converted Gold Coast stable on the alley behind one of the decaying mansions explained her situation as follows: "I am afraid to come home after dark because where we live it is in the rear of Prairie Avenue and I have to get to our house in the alley like. When I am half to my house, it don't have much light."

In response to the question, "Where do you play?" almost one-third of the children said, "On the street." Another one-fifth said that they played either on vacant lots or on automobile parking areas. Only 5 mentioned playgrounds, doubtless because this area is almost wholly unequipped with playgrounds. Almost 60 per cent said they would like to spend their free time at a playground, and 12 per cent expressed a desire for a bicycle or toys.

In view of the substandard conditions in which these children live, cleanliness must be very difficult to achieve. Yet on this point Miss Van Vliet says: "The children come to school clean, wonderfully clean considering the difficulty of getting water. There is little delinquency at Haven School. The children are mischievous but not malicious. The parents are co-operative and want their children to behave in school and to learn."

The picture revealed by Miss Van Vliet's study is unfortunately by no means atypical. It could be duplicated in many neighborhoods within the twenty-two square miles of blighted areas in Chicago. The valiant efforts to clear the slums have thus far only scratched the surface. There is still a very long hard pull ahead.

NEW YORK STATE AND THE "TRAFFIC IN CHILDREN"

BEFORE its adjournment the New York State Legislature passed a series of bills which are an attempt to "strike at the trafficking in children," which is always a subject of interest to social workers. The bills were said to be part of a "program worked out by the State Department of Social Welfare and the Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation."

The first of these bills makes it illegal for anyone other than an authorized agency to charge or to accept any consideration for the placing-out of a child. In the case of authorized agencies, which must be those organized with corporate power to place out children and which are under the supervision of the State Board of Social Welfare, only the reasonable and necessary expenses of placement may be charged. The prohibition is to be enforced by severe penal sanctions. A first violation would constitute a misdemeanor, but any subsequent violations would be felonies.

The second bill clarified the term "place out" by naming the close relatives with whom children may be placed without becoming subject to the prohibitions and regulations affecting the placing-out of children.

The third bill required that hereafter the licensing of "maternity hospitals or lying-in asylums" shall be preceded by inquiry by the State Department of Social Welfare. In this way, centralized clearance will be provided, and the direct or indirect licensing of improper persons may be avoided.

The final bill repealed the provision which in certain cases dispensed with the need for reporting adoptions by a clerk of the court to the State Commissioner of Health.

The governor, in signing the bills, said that they "should prove of great help in wiping out evil practices which have arisen as a result of the misconduct of some in child placement. The need for this regulation is clear, and the sponsors of these bills are to be commended for their achievement."

MAINE, TENNESSEE, AND ALASKA RAISE CHILD LABOR STANDARDS

THE legislatures of three more states—Maine, Tennessee, and Alaska—strengthened their child labor standards this year. Maine and Tennessee became the twenty-first and twenty-second states to set a basic sixteen-year minimum age for the employment of children. The *Labor Information Bulletin* reports that states with this standard have a sixteen-year minimum age either for factory employment at any time or for all work during school hours, except, in some states, in agriculture or domestic service. A few states meet both standards.

The new laws of both Tennessee and Maine set the age of sixteen for employment at any time in any manufacturing or mechanical establishment. This age was formerly fifteen in Maine and fourteen in Tennessee. The Tennessee act also raises from fourteen to sixteen the minimum age for employment during school hours in any gainful occupation, except agriculture and domestic service. Maine retains its former minimum age of fifteen for work during school hours but sets sixteen at any time for employment in hotels and places of amusement, and fifteen in stores and in eating places.

Both States set a minimum age of 16 for work in bowling alleys. Formerly this work was prohibited in Maine for minors under 15, while, in Tennessee, no minimum age applied outside school hours. A number of specified hazardous occupations are now prohibited under the Tennessee law for minors under 18, rather than under 16 as formerly, while, in Maine, dry-cleaning establishments have been added to the places in which occupations may be declared hazardous for minors under 18 by the commissioner of labor and industry.

Both acts also improve the former maximum hours-of-work standards. Tennessee adopted an 8-hour day, 40-hour week, 6-day week for minors under 18 in any gainful occupation, replacing its former 8-hour day, 48-hour week, 6-day week for minors under 16 in specified occupations only. The new Maine act applies its 8-hour day, 48-hour week, 6-day week standard

to minors under 16 instead of those under 15 as formerly. In both States, also, special regulations will now apply to employed children under 16 who are attending school as well as working. Maine limits hours of employment of such children to 4 hours a day, 28 a week, and Tennessee to 3 hours a day, 18 a week. The Tennessee act prohibits work of minors under 16 between 7 P.M. and 7 A.M., rather than 6 P.M. to 6 A.M., as formerly. It also prohibits work of minors 16 and 17 between 10 P.M. and 6 A.M. Under its former law, the only night-work prohibition for minors 16 and 17 was for messenger work.

Up to this year, Alaska's child-labor law consisted of a 16-year minimum age for girls in any mercantile or industrial establishment. Under the new law this provision is retained, and in addition a minimum age of 16 is set for employment of boys in restaurants, hotels, or lodging houses, and a minimum age of 14 for both boys and girls in all other gainful employment except domestic service, baby sitting, and work in canneries.

All this is encouraging because, although we move slowly, we are moving in the right direction.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

THE advisement and guidance program of the Veterans Administration was started before the end of World War II with the passage of the Act "providing for the rehabilitation of veterans with disabilities incurred in military and naval service."¹

As a first step in furnishing rehabilitation, the VA employed professional counselors to give veterans information about appropriate vocational opportunities. The counselors also assisted each veteran in evaluating his own major vocational aptitudes and interests. Later, counseling was extended to veterans planning to train under the GI Bill. By the end of March, 1949, about 1,200,000 World War II veterans, training under both the Rehabilitation Bill and the GI Bill, had received advice and guidance from the Veterans Administration.

A committee of outstanding New England citizens, with Dr. Leonard Carmichael,

¹ Public Law 16, 78th Congress.

president of Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts, as chairman, volunteered to assess the entire VA guidance program.² Their conclusion was that the vocational counseling that has been described above had proved an effective aid in fitting ex-servicemen into the occupations for which they were best qualified.

The committee studied case histories of a representative group of 1,700 veterans who had received advice and guidance from the VA and reported that 84 per cent of the veterans said that they were satisfied with the counseling services that had been given. More than three-fourths of these veterans were actively employed, at the time of the study, in vocational fields which they and their VA counselors had agreed were best for them to undertake. About half the 16 per cent who said they were not fully satisfied with VA counseling also were at work in fields recommended by the counselors.

On the whole, the evidence seems to indicate the practical and long-time value of the vocational guidance program for veterans.

IRO

FROM time to time we have noted some important activities of the International Refugee Organization. Early in July the IRO's general council in Geneva adopted a schedule for its final liquidation. According to a special dispatch to the *New York Times*, this schedule calls for the following principal deadlines:

1. August 31, 1949, for the end of the acceptance of refugees under the organization's care or protection.
2. December 31, 1949, for the end of admissions to the organization's camps of refugees, then considered to be within its mandate.

² Members of the committee evaluating the counseling program, in addition to Dr. Carmichael, included N. M. Du Chemin, manager of the West Lynn Plant of the General Electric Co.; William H. Edwards, of the law firm of Edwards and Angell, Providence, Rhode Island; Ralph Lowell, president of the Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Co.; and Charles Wyzanski, Jr., Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts.

3. June 30, 1950, for the end of all care and maintenance activities.

The council instructed the director general to institute an immediate counseling program to ascertain whether individual refugees desire to be resettled, and to withdraw assistance from those who "unreasonably refuse to accept the proposals of the organization."

This action, which virtually completed the special session of the council, was characterized by one official observer who has followed the refugee organization from its foundation as a "sign of moral deterioration of the members of the United Nations." This council session has indeed been notable only for the sense of haste on the part of the governmental representatives to wind up the refugee group and to avoid having to ask their legislatures for more money for refugees.

"The world is tired of the refugee problem," another longtime observer remarked. . . .

Although admission to IRO protection and care will come to an end on August 31 of this year, refugees leaving their countries of origin after that date may register up to October 15. After that, the refugee group will not be authorized to accept new refugees from Iron Curtain countries.

It is officially estimated that on June 30, 1950, the proposed date for the end of care and maintenance activities, 172,000 persons still will be dependent on the refugee organization. Those who are in institutions for medical reasons can be kept on under today's instructions, but this is a small minority. Others will be left to the mercies of local authorities.

United States authorities in Germany have already warned the refugee group that German administrations then in power are unlikely to give fair treatment to the refugees. Other countries have said during this session that they would not do anything for refugees dumped in their countries by the IRO.

"It seems clear," said a representative speaking for all voluntary relief agencies dealing with refugees in Europe, "that work which the International Refugee Organization was created to carry out will not have been completed by June 30, 1950."

The *Times* correspondent suggests that no responsible person will dispute the charge

that the refugee group is bringing the work to an end before the job is done.

Council members and the secretariat still are wrestling with the problem of the "hard core"—people who are too old, too ill, mutilated or otherwise incapable of being re-established outside some sort of institution. Only Israel, Belgium and Norway have said specifically that they would take some of these people, if some financial help could be given. Several countries have specifically said that they would not. France will have no choice when the refugee organization concludes its activities, as more than a "fair share" of hard-core cases already are in France.

There is some belief in American circles close to IRO that the United States eventually will propose some new agency to give international assistance to the refugees, who show no signs of disappearing as a phenomenon of the modern world. Thus far no responsible United States official has given any indication that this was the reason for the United States pressure for early liquidation of the IRO.

A recent word from IRO is that the resignation of William Hallam Tuck as director and the appointment, in his place, of another American who was not known to the IRO Council seems to have caused some resentment. Although it has been well known that IRO is not a permanent organization, Mr. Tuck warned the IRO Council of the serious consequences of leaving displaced persons in Germany and Austria after IRO's scheduled windup in 1950, when there will still be so many refugees not resettled. "I have no illusions whatever on this point," Mr. Tuck said. "The future of the DP in Germany will not be a happy one."

He cited conditions in the camps that Germans maintain for German refugees as an indication of the miserable treatment likely to be accorded to non-Germans left as charges on the German economy. Thus far, IRO member-governments have reached no solution of the problem of these refugees, except to leave them where they are and to withdraw international assistance.

The *New York Times* says:

Mr. Tuck can look back on the solid achievement of having moved more than 500,000 persons unrooted by the war to new homes. He

leaves the organization operating in high gear and limited only by the non-cooperative attitude of governments. Mr. Tuck's administration has been criticized for internal inefficiencies, but never for having failed to keep before the conscience of the world the essential human values involved in the problems of the unfortunate people under IRO's charge.

The new director is J. Donald Kingsley, who has been the assistant administrator of the United States Federal Security Agency.

UNICEF

THE United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the only international agency still operating in Eastern Europe, has been referred to many times in our columns. In 1949, UNICEF assisted approximately four million children and mothers in Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia and three hundred and fifty thousand in Palestine. Programs were carefully planned and started in Germany and Asia. One hundred and sixty-five million pounds of milk were shipped as well as \$4 million worth of cotton, wool, leather and hides, and \$600,000 of medical supplies.

Continued American support of UNICEF is very important. In a report on H.R. 2785 the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved an extension of the period during which other governments may match our 1948 appropriation of \$75 million. As we go to press the United States has paid only \$54.7 million to the fund because our contribution was made contingent on certain gifts by other contributors.

At the same time, the committee rejected as "unwise" H.R. 4488, which would have permitted the inclusion of voluntary private contributions in the matching amounts raised by other countries. Such use, now prohibited, is considered very desirable and necessary by many people because of limited government funds from other countries and an available \$10 million in private gifts. The inclusion of this \$10 million would release \$20 million of our American contingent fund.

Full support of UNICEF by our Congress, including the matching of private funds, seems to be greatly needed.

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER

A POPULAR magazine has rendered a useful service by publishing an article that will be widely read on "The Problem of Unwed Mothers." The author of this article¹ estimates that, in the United States this year, somewhere between 95,000 and 250,000 unmarried girls—nearly half of them teen-agers—will become unmarried mothers. The exact number is not known, since only thirty-four states record illegitimate births—95,393 in 1946 is the most recent figure. We are told that "these are only recorded illegitimate births. And most authorities agree that for every recorded illegitimate birth there is one unrecorded; that this year thousands of unmarried girls will bear babies—in secrecy and agony—in the back-alley butcher houses that supply our flourishing black market in babies."

The writer of this article thinks that "because of the black-market traffic, in which birth certificates are forged, and records burned," the increase or decrease in the number of unmarried mothers is difficult to determine. But bed space in many recognized maternity homes is getting scarce, and it is believed that in some areas the number of unmarried teen-age mothers is increasing.

The article gives certain facts from the Booth Memorial Hospital in Los Angeles, which is said to be one of thirty-four hospitals maintained by the Salvation Army in the United States. The names of their unwed mothers are secret, but their occupations are not. Here they are:

Last year, there were 116 high school girls; 18 college girls; 1 elevator operator; 9 registered nurses; 1 photographer; 13 waitresses; 1 sales manager; 39 secretaries; 3 beauty shop assistants; 28 clerical workers; 4 salesgirls; 14 domestics; 1 teletype operator; 1 newspaper reporter; 5 teachers; 1 political analyst; 8 factory workers; 1 practical nurse; 2 models; 1 artist. Three were physically handicapped.

¹ Dan C. Fowler in *Look*, July 19, 1949.

The article pointed out that in the United States there are "only about 200 voluntary homes for unmarried pregnant girls. These can care for about 30,000 annually. Other thousands will receive help from welfare agencies. A few thousand others, including those with venereal disease and criminally inclined," may be under police supervision.

Then he tells of the black-market "hospital," a seeming godsend, offering food, shelter, and release from shame. Only it does not turn out to be a godsend. The girls may work hard at the "hospital," more than enough to pay for their board. What happens to their babies?

A childless couple, blocked from legally adopting a baby by years of red tape, may turn to the black market.

There they can get immediate delivery of a baby, complete with forged birth certificate, for from \$600 to \$3,000. Then comes a stealthy visitor. He claims that the baby's real mother has traced her child. For cash, he says, the "hospital" can keep her quiet. Desperate, the foster parents pay—and keep on paying.

Why has our approach to the problem failed to reduce the number of unmarried mothers?

Authorities agree that there is still much ignorance about sex among young people. But the problem as a whole, says the U.S. Children's Bureau in Washington, goes deeper than sex education alone. "Parents must promote the emotional well-being of their children," it says, "so that they in turn can be better parents, and reduce the chances for unmarried mothers in their generation."

Most workers in the field believe that the black market can be ended by increasing welfare funds, promoting more maternity homes. They think that less red tape in legal adoption procedure would also help.

Everyone agrees that a public awakening to the problems of unmarried mothers will result in the aid that is needed. For this reason, they have welcomed Hollywood's entry into the fight.

CONGRATULATIONS, AAUW

THE long-drawn-out controversy between the national organization of the American Association of University Women and its Washington branch has been temporarily brought to an end by the secession of Wash-

ington from the national organization. The following editorial from the *New York Times* briefly states the controversy and its consequences:

The Washington, D.C., chapter of the American Association of University Women has done itself a disservice in seceding from the national body because the latter voted to guarantee membership by qualified Negroes. There is something particularly incongruous in the action of the Washington group—both because women with the advantage of a college degree really ought to know better and because women representing the capital of this democracy ought at the least to act as though they believed in democracy.

But in this case, unlike some others involving national women's organizations in Washington, it is refreshing to note the strong stand against a color bar taken by the parent body. For more than two years the American Association of University Women has been trying to force its Washington chapter to accept the membership application of a well-known Negro woman who is a graduate of Oberlin College and a member of the national organization. Although a large minority of its membership disagreed with the exclusion policy, the Washington branch obtained a court ruling last year that it could not be compelled to admit Negroes unless the by-laws of the national organization were changed. It was the overwhelming vote to change them at the national AAUW convention this week that led the Washington chapter to secede.

The AAUW deserves congratulations for its forthright stand against discrimination. It has but one test for membership; and perhaps the Washington chapter—oldest in the association—will at last come to realize that there is no such thing as a color line in an academic degree.

THE FREE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN

WHAT might be called "the new University of Berlin" is described in a recent number of the *Department of State Bulletin*.¹ The writer believes that what is now called the "Free University of Berlin (Freie Uni-

versität Berlin)" is today "a symbol in the struggle for academic freedom and human dignity. As its 2,200 students walk through the streets of Dahlem in the U.S. Sector of Berlin to their classes, it would seem difficult to realize that eight months ago the Free University was no more than a hope in the minds of some forward-looking Berliners."

The Free University is a growing educational institution, "utilizing what would have been half-idle buildings, students and professors. It conserves the traditional values of European universities and at the same time serves as an instrument for realizing university reforms." It is part of the story of the controversy between the governing powers over the old University of Berlin, which was believed to be in process of being made into a Communist institution. This old Berlin University on Unter den Linden, which, prior to 1933, was one of the world's great universities, has had a "very special meaning for hundreds of Americans who studied in its famous halls."

From the time of its founding in 1809 under the leadership of Wilhelm von Humboldt it had a decided influence on Germany and the World. Hegel, Mommsen, Hartmann and Meinecke were among its renowned teachers. In size it was impressive with 11,000 students and 120 scientific institutes.

In 1933 its friends were grieved to see the Nazi hand fall on this center of academic freedom. With the coming of peace in 1945 these friends hoped that once again a great university could be rebuilt on Nazi ruins.

However, in April, 1945, and in the three following months, before the French, British, and American occupation forces entered the city, "Berlin institutions, including Berlin University, were being organized according to eastern ideas." The education officers of the occupation authorities of the three western sectors were, therefore, immediately confronted with a proposal to reopen Berlin University under the direct control of an occupation power. That is, one occupation power had an "area of responsibility in Berlin, including Stadt Mitte with its Unter den Linden university buildings."

¹ In an article by Howard W. Johnston, chief, Higher Education, Education and Cultural Relations Branch, OMG Berlin Sector, reprinted from *Information Bulletin* of U. S. Military Government in Germany, March 8, 1949.

The American educational representative is said to have "made a counterproposal in the Allied Commandatura of Berlin to the effect that the university be placed under the Berlin city government where it had always been so that each occupation power would have equal responsibility for the university's development. . . ."

The matter finally went to the deputy commandants and then to the commandants, without agreement. Finally, the attempt of the three Western powers to place Berlin under quadripartite control was given up, and the old Berlin University opened under Eastern control in January, 1946, when the university resumed classes.

In April, 1948, three students were expelled from Berlin University because articles they had written constituted a sharp attack on occupation methods of dealing with East Zone universities. On May 10, 1948, the city assembly voted to "try again to place the school on Unter den Linden under the Magistrat and, should this fail, to establish a Free University in the western sectors of Berlin." The "free university" plan soon became necessary.

Berliners who wished to make a firm stand for academic freedom were therefore faced with the problem of developing a new university. Several suitable buildings were available in the American Sector, and teaching equipment and books were known to exist in scattered places throughout the western sectors. Moreover, scores of professors and thousands of students already lived in the American Sector. However, the Germans were promised nothing except temporary assistance and whatever help might be possible through regular MG channels.

Several committees had suddenly mushroomed, each committee wishing to do something about the new university. A meeting of all interested persons was held June 19, 1948, and a German preparatory committee of 12 was formed. Prof. Ernst Reuter, later elected mayor of Berlin, became chairman of the committee which evolved a workable plan. Dozens of buildings had to be inspected, prospective professors had to be interviewed and numerous problems had to be studied with great care.

On July 23 the committee issued a proclamation stating the meaning of Berlin's struggle for

academic freedom and asking the world to assist in establishing a free university.

The new university was finally opened in the late autumn of 1948, when there were more than five thousand prospective students. There is now said to be a waiting list of more than six thousand prospective students. During November, classes were organized under three faculties: philosophy, law and economics, and medicine. By December the organization work was well in hand, and students were said to be thronging the university halls. The ceremony of the formal opening, held at Titania Palace, a large theater in the American Sector, was made a memorable occasion.

Since the "flourishes of opening," the steady tasks of teaching and building have gone on. One hundred and thirty-four professors and assistants have already been selected for the three faculties, and more are added each week as top-ranking professors seek refuge from other universities.

Approximately 400,000 books are available to the university. This aid includes the nearby OMGUS Reference Library with more than 110,000 volumes, a sociological library of 5,000 and an international law library of 40,000 books.

The Free University is governed by a board of 12 members—Berlin's mayor, the city finance minister, the city education minister and three others from the City Assembly, the rector, a representative of the professors and another of the students. The three remaining places are filled by outstanding laymen—this year a judge, a labor leader and a Nobel Prize-winning chemist. For internal affairs there is a senate on which two students sit for all matters except those pertaining to professors. . . . The emphasis at Free University is definitely on studies, but there is also a sense of community responsibility that has been lacking in German universities.

The Free University is said to be a democratic experience for the hundreds of Germans taking part in its development and to fulfil the moral obligation of the community to talented young people whose education was interrupted by the war. From the reports in hand, the Free University is "an example of cooperative democratic activity."

THE DEATH PENALTY IN BRITAIN

MANY Americans rejoiced when the House of Commons voted in April, 1948, to abolish the death penalty for an experimental period of five years; in the following July, however, its decision was reversed for some reasons not clearly understood; but the subject of the death penalty was not to be shelved—it was merely postponed. However, in November, 1948, Mr. Ede, the Home Secretary, announced that a royal commission would be appointed to examine the question. With the commission not yet appointed, the *Manchester Guardian* complained that "the Government has so far cut a poor figure in its handling of the capital-punishment question; it is now sorely trying the patience of its friends." The *Guardian* said further with regard to the question of abolishing capital penalties that it

might not greatly matter if the monthly toll of murders, sentences, and executions were also in abeyance. Between April and November Mr. Ede gave the hangman a holiday. In November executions were resumed; the total of murders committed in the following month was twenty-five, not quite twice as many as in the worst month of the period when hanging was suspended. So much for the power of the rope as a deterrent. Since November everyone has been trying to see how far, if at all, the Home Secretary has been influenced by last summer's debates in the matter of recommending reprieves.

The *Manchester Guardian*, after reviewing a variety of reprieves, said that there was "surely pressing need" for a proposed royal commission on the death penalty to "get busy with its examination of capital punishment."

A YEAR OF THE BRITISH SOCIAL INSURANCE AND HEALTH SERVICES

LAST July we were reminded that Britain's "from-the-cradle-to-the-grave" national insurance plan had ended its first year of operation; that about 24,000,000 persons were contributing for its family

benefits through 987 local insurance offices; and that during the year these offices had dealt with 10,000,000 claims involving 40,000,000 separate payments.

The *New York Times* reported that

the plan becomes complete on its first anniversary with the introduction of the death grant, varying in amount up to a maximum of £20 (\$80) to meet funeral expenses.

About 140,000 sickness benefit claims have been made each week.

There were 800,000 maternity benefit claims during the year.

Retirement or old age pensions were going to 4,150,000 men and women over 60. Claims for retirement pensions were at the rate of 8,000 weekly. About 460,000 widows under 60 were receiving widowhood benefit claims, which reach nearly 2,000 each week.

In addition to widows, guardians' allowances or orphan pensions are being paid to about 10,000 children. About 750,000 claims have been made under the industrial injuries section. During the year the number of families receiving family allowances and the number of children getting allowances increased by 100,000 to 2,900,000 and 4,600,000 respectively.

Since the new British health plan has also been in effect since July, 1948, writers on current policies are tempted to assess the value of "a year of socialized medicine." A writer¹ in the *Chicago Daily News* who had been in Great Britain during this period and had talked with large numbers of British men and women about the new program found that the consensus—in every walk of life—is "We like it."

"I think it's the most wonderful thing that ever happened," said a working class man to whom the writer put the question of what he personally thought of the experiment. At the same time it was pointed out that socialized medicine was one reason why the taxes were so high. But the man said "Yes—but we're getting something for our taxes." He had waited three months for a pair of spectacles. But he didn't mind because he had been given the services of a Harley Street specialist that he could not have afforded before.

He thought some doctors were trying to

¹ William McGaffin, Daily News Foreign Service.

wreck the plan by "prescribing expensive medicine" and that "some patients are abusing it too." But he was happy that at last a scheme had come into being which prevented doctors from "making fortunes out of the sick."

The great problem, of course, is to get the quality of the service up and to keep the expenses down. Even the Minister of Health has said that there is a limit to what can be spent, though no top figure seems to have been named. However, expenses during the past year seem to have increased steadily. A year ago the Ministry of Health estimated the first nine months at \$598,700,000, but the first nine months of the scheme cost \$832,420,000. And now the Ministry estimates that it will need \$1,138,910,400 for the current year.

More recently there has been some concern about the opticians and dentists, many of whom are said to have become "rich overnight." We are reminded that eight-ninths of the cost of running the health service is met by the government out of general tax funds, while only one-ninth comes from the joint contribution of employees and employers. Opticians have had to take a provisional cut of 30 cents in their fee for sight-testing, bringing it down to \$2.80, and a provisional cut of 20 cents for dispensing glasses, making that fee \$4.80. Dentists, who are paid per job instead of per patient, have had their fees cut by 20 per cent, and the dentists are said to be protesting.

The article says further that the Ministry is trying also to cut down hospital running expenses. Hospital-board estimates for the coming year were considered too high, and a reduction of \$38,000,000 (about 5 per cent) was requested. The hospitals replied that they could not make such a cut without reducing the number of beds, which would be very unwise since the grave shortage of hospitals is a serious weakness in the health service. The doctors are said to have complained that the Socialists "jumped into the scheme too fast. They say that hospitals should have been taken over first, improvements made and new buildings erected."

The writer of the article said finally that,

if he were asked for his opinion as an American observer, he would say that Britain would never give up socialized medicine now—no matter what party happens to be in power. "The Tories, like the doctors, approve it in principle." And the writer adds that he thinks that if the scheme is working reasonably well, it is "because of the loyal co-operation of most of the medical profession. Probably there will be many modifications and certainly the government will have its hands full for years. Nevertheless, despite the defects, the public by and large like it."

This writer thought that the middle and upper classes in their hard-pressed financial conditions were also glad for anything that helped to ease the strain on the family budget. However, the plan is still the battleground of doctors vs. government.

We are told that the great majority of Britain's doctors "do not oppose socialized medicine in principle." They are said to be far more liberal on this subject than our American doctors. What the British doctors are vigorously discussing are the terms of service and the way the plan is being managed.

At a conference of the British Medical Association last summer at Harrogate, England, the general practitioners passed a strong resolution providing that the association "take immediate steps to organize machinery to enable a mass withdrawal from the service to be effective at any time." This was a compromise measure, replacing another calling for "immediate mass resignation" from the service.

The writer in the *News* says that the Ministry of Health tells you privately that "the doctors' bark is worse than their bite." Even at BMA headquarters you learn confidentially that there is little likelihood of a "doctors' rebellion"—despite the prediction of some Americans who have gone to Britain for what are called "ten-day-wonder observations" about the new system and have returned home "experts."

The doctors are merely strengthening their hand in the negotiations for more money due to begin shortly with Aneurin Bevan, the minister

of health. The doctors want \$66,000,000 added to the pool of approximately \$164,000,000 out of which they are paid. This money would be used to lighten the load of patients which a doctor must carry if he is to make an income to meet his cost of living.

By increasing the fee per patient from \$3.50 to \$7.00 on the first 1,000 patients, then dropping back to \$3.50, a doctor could make as much by treating 3,000 patients as he does now from 4,000—the maximum he is allowed to take on his list.

The doctors' argument is that by cutting down on the work load, he could increase the quality of the doctoring he dispenses. And that those doctors who wanted to take the full 4,000 list could earn \$17,600 instead of \$14,000, as at present. . . .

There is said to be "a good deal of give and take in this government-physician battle." The writer of the *Daily News* article seems to have found some government representatives sufficiently enlightened to admit that "many doctors have a legitimate grouse" and willing to concede privately that there is a good argument in the doctors' contention that something must be done to prevent the public from abusing the service.

NOTES FROM THE ILO

AT ITS June session in Geneva the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation voted in favor of an "impartial inquiry into the nature and extent of forced labor, including the reasons for which persons are made to perform forced labor and the treatment accorded to such persons." The Governing Body in its resolution recognized that the "alleged existence of forced labor in many countries is a matter of grave and widespread concern." However, the *United Nations Bulletin* notes that an ILO study cited a reduction in forced labor in several parts of the world. The same study showed other developments resulting from the observance of international labor conventions. "The study revealed that numerous governments in the past year have drafted new legislation to protect young workers, provide compensation for accidents, tighten industrial safety practices,

and safeguard workers' rights—so that their national labor laws would conform with ILO conventions and recommendations."

Close collaboration with the United Nations in making the inquiry was urged so that members of the United Nations which are not members of the ILO would be included. The U.S.S.R., although a member of the UN, is not a member of the ILO.

This, the ILO's thirty-second general conference left behind it a volume of work said to be unequalled in the ILO's thirty-year history. In three and a half weeks of deliberation the 550 delegates and advisers from fifty countries adopted three new International Labour Conventions and revised five others, approved three new Recommendations and revised another, and voted resolutions charting ILO policy in several fields. The three new Conventions and the five revised Conventions brought to ninety-eight the total number of such international instruments adopted to date.

Among the decisions the Conference embodied in resolutions was one authorizing the ILO's Governing Body to make any necessary arrangements to enable the Organisation to initiate an expanded program of technical assistance for the economic development of underdeveloped areas and to obtain the funds for it. This expanded program would be part of the co-operative program of the United Nations and its associated Specialized Agencies that is under consideration by the United Nations Economic and Social Council and the appropriate organs of the Specialized Agencies.

Regarded by many delegates as the most important of the three new International Labour Conventions was one which will require ratifying countries to assure to workers the right to organize into trade-unions without interference and to bargain collectively. This Convention complements the Convention on freedom of association and protection of the right to organize which was adopted by the 1948 session of the Conference.

These two instruments constitute major

parts of the program of action in the field of trade-union rights and industrial relations upon which the Organisation embarked two years ago.

The Conference also adopted new Conventions designed:

1. To assure that workers employed in the execution of contracts entered into by public authorities shall have wages, hours of work and working conditions not less favourable than other workers doing similar labour.
2. To protect workers' wages by assuring that they are paid in cash, promptly, in full, and directly to the workers.

The revised Conventions approved by the session:

1. Established international minimum standards to protect persons migrating from one country to take employment in another. This replaced a Convention adopted in 1939.
2. Provided for the gradual abolition or, alternatively, the regulation of employment agencies which charge fees and are operated with a view to profit. This replaced a Convention adopted in 1933.
3. Established vacation holidays with pay for seafarers. This replaced a 1946 Convention.
4. Set standards for the accommodation of crews on board ship. This replaced a 1946 Convention.
5. Fixed minimum wages for seafarers, established maximum hours, and set requirements for the manning of ships. This also replaced a 1946 Convention.

Mr. David A. Morse, now director-general of the International Labour Organisation, said in his report to the Thirty-second General Conference on June 8 that "progress achieved in reconstruction and economic development in the past year has fallen short of the more optimistic expectations. But it has on the whole been solid, for it has been based on an appraisal of the facts as they really are and on a re-examination and reformation of national and international policies and programs in the light of these facts."

Mr. Morse warned that the degree and rapidity of postwar economic recovery will depend on the permanence of political settlements between the major powers, the course

of world inflationary pressures, and the adequacy of measures taken to arrest the downward spiral of prices and employment as these pressures subside.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT CLEVELAND

IN SPITE of a disappointing "recession" in attendance at the Cleveland Conference, there was no lack of interest and enthusiasm among those who were fortunate enough to be able to attend. The president of the Conference, Mr. Ralph H. Blanchard, of Community Chests and Councils of America, New York, and the new secretary and the committee chairmen had obviously worked hard to present a series of interesting papers and discussions. But a smaller-than-usual attendance throws a "damper" on any meeting, and this was true of Cleveland.

Fortunately, the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare was celebrating (June 7-12) its "golden anniversary," and its fiftieth meeting, with the title "After Fifty Years—New Frontiers in Jewish Communal Service," had just preceded the National Conference of Social Work and undoubtedly helped to increase our attendance (June 12-17).

Also preceding the National Conference was the Delegate Conference of the American Association of Social Workers, with Donald Howard presiding. The new president of the AASW is Ernest F. Witte, who is now director of the Council of Social Agencies of Seattle. It is important to note some of the resolutions adopted by the AASW. Among these was one supporting the National Housing Bill, which has since been passed. The delegates also asked for expansion of social security and extension of child welfare services, support of the United Nations health and welfare activities, help for displaced persons, and concern that the UNICEF be continued so that the needs of the world's children can be met; there was also warm approval of the new program of the State Department for social welfare attachés, and its expansion was strongly urged.

The next meeting of the National Confer-

ence will be held at Atlantic City, April 23-29, 1950, and the new officers include the following: president, Dr. Martha M. Eliot, who was until recently associate chief of the Children's Bureau and is now in Geneva as assistant director-general of WHO; first vice-president, Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, New York; second vice-president, Dean Helen Russell Wright, University of Chicago; third vice-president, Donald S. Howard, chairman of the department of social welfare, University of California at Los Angeles; secretary, Professor Marion Hathway, University of Pittsburgh.

The members of the executive committee are Leonard W. Mayo of Cleveland, Phyllis Osborn of Kansas City, Florence Sytz of New Orleans, Benjamin E. Youngdahl of St. Louis, Robert E. Bondy of New York, Lt. Col. Elwood Camp of Washington, D.C., and Dr. George F. Davidson of Ottawa, Canada.

The members of the nominations committee are Fred K. Hoehler of Chicago, Leah Feder of Cleveland, Sue Spencer of New York, Irene F. Conrad of Nashville, Bertha B. Howell of Oakland, Walter W. Whitson of Houston, and Jeanette Hanford of Chicago.

New section chairmen include Ruth Smalley, Pittsburgh, social case work; Lois Wildy, Chicago, child care; Ralph W. Whelan, New York, delinquency; Lucille M. Smith, Washington, D.C., the aged; Clyde E. Murray, New York, social group work; Isidore Sobeloff, Detroit, community organization and planning; Dr. Ellen Winston, Raleigh, N.C., public welfare; Edith G. Seltzer, New York, health; Adaline Johnesse, Washington, D.C., mental health; Elizabeth S. Magee, Cleveland, industrial and economic problems; Joseph P. Anderson, New York, methods of social action; John C. Kidneigh, Minneapolis, administration.

Ewan Clague, director of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, was the nominating committee's selection for president in 1951. Other 1951

nominees are: vice-president, Frances Tausig, retiring director of the Jewish Family Service, New York; second vice-president, George F. Davidson, deputy minister of national welfare for Canada; third vice-president, Emma C. Puschner, director of the national child welfare division, American Legion; secretary, Eveline M. Burns, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University. It is now Conference policy to present a single slate for the officers, though choices are offered for other members of the executive committee.

NOTES FROM THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

LEONARD W. MAYO, well known as the former dean of the Western Reserve School of Applied Social Sciences and later vice-president of Western Reserve University, has left the university to become the director of the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, New York City. This is one of our old and much-respected social agencies; organized fifty years ago, it has pioneered for many years in providing educational and orthopedic service for crippled children in New York City. The board has authorized a study of the present operations of the Association with a view to further development on a broadened basis. In assuming executive responsibility for the Association at this time, Mr. Mayo will develop plans for a broadened operation with emphasis on preventive work with reference to the diseases that cripple children.

The very fine library of the Russell Sage Foundation, "one of the most complete collections in the field of social work," will be divided between City College and the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University. A special committee had been studying the dispersal of the library since May, and the *New York Times* reported that City College would receive a gift of forty thousand volumes and a hundred thousand pamphlets and reports, which it is planned to keep up to date with the addition of new material. The New York School of Social

Work received twenty-six thousand books, reference volumes, historical material, and pamphlets. Dr. Donald Young, general director of the Foundation, in describing the severing of the library from the Foundation, called the move "one of the saddest things we have had to do." But the collection will remain open to the two hundred and fifty agencies, organizations, and schools of social work that have had access to it in the past. The president of City College announced that its share of the collection would be available to welfare groups in the metropolitan area by September, when the collection is moved to temporary quarters in the college library.

Kenneth D. Johnson, dean of the New York School of Social Work, described the collection as "priceless as to completeness, scope and reach." The New York School, which had been housed in the same quarters as the Foundation, is moving in October to the sixty-six-room mansion on Fifth Avenue and Ninetieth Street, once the residence of Andrew Carnegie.

The library, begun in 1882 as the library of the Charity Organization Society, was combined in 1904-5 with the library of the State Charities Aid Association; in 1907 it was put under the administration of the School of Philanthropy, now the New York School of Social Work; and in 1911 it was transferred to the Russell Sage Foundation, where it developed into the present comprehensive collection.

The bulk of the collection relates to the fields of child welfare, city and regional planning, housing and industrial relations, labor, penology, public welfare, and social insurance. Included in the collection are 115 complete files of periodicals and a large number of out-of-print works and government documents.

The Fellowship Fund of the American Association of University Women has made twenty-seven research awards to women whose research projects were judged valuable in extending human knowledge. The total value of these awards is \$40,750.

Miss Helen Montgomery, Southern Region Field Consultant for the Family Service Association of America, sailed in June on an eight months' United Nations assignment as social welfare adviser to the Italian government.

Arriving at Rotterdam, Miss Montgomery will travel to Paris, to Geneva, and then to Rome, where she will work with the Department of International Aid of the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers in the Italian government. She will assist in planning a program for the general administration of social services with emphasis on child welfare and for the co-ordination of Italian welfare work with international aid.

A leave of absence was granted Miss Montgomery from the Family Service Association of America at the request of UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie. In Italy she will be under the authority of the Department of Social Affairs, Division of Social Activities of the UN, and under general supervision of the representative of the Division of Social Activities in Geneva.

From 1944 to 1947 Miss Montgomery had considerable experience in Italian welfare problems while working with UNRRA as assistant in the Bureau of Relief Service in that country and as director of the Division of Field Service of the European Regional Office. A native Californian and career social worker, Miss Montgomery is a graduate of Stanford University and the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration. She held important supervisory posts in the California State Relief Administration from 1932 to 1940 and for four years following was western field representative of the National Travelers Aid Association. She joined the Family Service Association of America staff in November, 1947.

Believing that the cumulating strains and stresses of life during the first half of the twentieth century have caused "the organization of more services for the well-being of American people than in all preceding time . . . more in kinds and complexities of the

services—more in their volume,” the chairman of a new “Conference on Appraising Family Needs” tells us that it is not surprising that “communities of every size throughout the nation are again scrutinizing what is loosely called the ‘Welfare Movement.’” Surveys, self-studies, replanning, reorganization, are being demanded from many influential quarters. Admittedly, the scientific “know-how” of stock-taking and planning is not yet adequate. It encounters many gaps and is slowed by a variety of obstacles. It is suggested that there is the “lack of accurate data regarding the number of families in a community who require various special services. There is the lack of uniformity in agency data. There is confusion among agencies on nomenclature of administration and operation.” The fundamental need for systematic development of resources and procedures to meet such problems was recognized by the Grant Foundation in the autumn of 1947, when a three-year appropriation was made to Community Research Associates (formerly known as Community Surveys, Inc.) in order to find new and more accurate methods whereby communities can determine what needs to be done and how best to do it.

St. Paul, Minnesota, was chosen for testing a new approach because of its representative character and the assured local interest and co-operation. Staff and associates focused on that area the knowledge which they had secured through surveys in over a hundred cities. They consulted specialists extensively. They distilled the most significant data contained in publications and reports about particular fields. Through this process Community Research Associates classified the problems with which community services must deal, and classified also the basic services which communities should provide.

Moreover, and perhaps most important, the Associates have developed a new procedure for measuring more adequately than ever before the spread of problems throughout the community, and for charting the organization of services. Working with 108 agencies in St. Paul and vicinity, they have secured exhaustive information which they are now analyzing. The resulting data will be ready in September.

At that time, to discuss and consider the methods by which the information has been gathered, to appraise the findings, and to provide suggestions and recommendations for the concluding year of the project, outstanding leaders from many areas will meet in a National Conference on Appraising Family Needs for a New Focus on Community Services.

Attendance will be limited to one hundred and twenty-five, including twenty-five key representatives from St. Paul. The hundred national leaders who are expected share a common and penetrating concern for human welfare but practice a broad variety of professions. The working sessions include the presentation of specific findings in health, recreation, maladjustment, and economic dependence; panel discussions by consultants; and consideration, criticism, and recommendations by the Conference participants.

This new National Conference on Appraising Family Needs for a New Focus on Community Services has been planned to be held at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, September 22–24, 1949, and is sponsored by the Planning and Research Council of the Greater St. Paul Community Chest and Council, the Ramsey County Board of Public Welfare, and the Amherst H. Wilder Charity. It will consider the test project directed by Community Research Associates as part of the national research study financed by the Grant Foundation.

The Grace Abbott Fellowship in Public Welfare, maintained by the national Delta Gamma fraternity in honor of Grace Abbott, who was a member of Delta Gamma when she was a student at the University of Nebraska, has been awarded for 1949–50 to Miss Louise Rainer of the Alabama State Department of Public Welfare, where she has been child welfare consultant and recently junior welfare supervisor. Miss Rainer is a graduate of Alabama College for Women and has had three quarters of graduate professional work at the New York School of Social Work.

Some data are available regarding the Welfare Fellowship Program of the United Nations, under which "war-torn and underdeveloped countries may send their social welfare experts abroad to gain knowledge helpful in their home countries" and which is now in its third year. The *Social Security Bulletin* reports¹ that in 1947, when the program began to operate, forty-four holders of these fellowships were assigned to the Social Security Agency—most of them to the Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Public Assistance. The first year's experience is summarized here as illustrative of the general scope of the program and also for its historical value. Moreover, since the UN program is only one of several programs in which these bureaus have co-operated, the summary also served as a general illustration of the agency's participation in training programs for foreign welfare personnel.

Some Labor Department officials have also participated in an international exchange program. Miss Marta Zaidén, Mrs. Léonie Victor, Miss Gudelia Gómez, and Mrs. Teresa Troconis, officials of labor departments in Cuba, Haiti, Mexico, and Venezuela, have been in this country for a four-month training program administered by the Women's Bureau. Various state labor departments are co-operating in the training program. Mrs. Parul Chakraborty of Calcutta, India, was accepted at the request of the Embassy of India for a period of inservice training under the direction of the Women's Bureau.

The Federal Security Agency, through the Office of International Relations, is responsible to the United Nations for the placement of all Fellows assigned to the United States, delegating to its constituent organizations and other agencies of the Federal Government detailed responsibility for planning programs for individuals. Fifty-three Fellows² in 1947 and 32

Fellows in 1948 came to this country and were assigned by the Federal Security Agency.

The two bureaus—the Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Public Assistance—to which most of the Fellows have been assigned have used similar methods in providing a program-planning service to foreign welfare observers. These methods were crystallized in the 1947 UN fellowship program, at the end of which each of the bureaus developed an analytical report of their experience as a basis for later administrative planning and for limited interpretive use. Since that time (June 1948), the second year of cooperation in the UN Welfare Fellowship Program has been completed, and the bureaus have had additional experience with other foreign observers. In general, the basic approach and the methods evolved in the first UN program have proved sound, although there have been some changes and refinements in methods. The volume of experience of the two bureaus, as well as of the historical values in the first year of a program, makes it appropriate to use that experience to illustrate the participation of the Social Security Administration in training programs for foreign welfare personnel.

IN MEMORIAM

LAURA A. THOMPSON, 1877-1949

LARGE numbers of social workers knew Laura Thompson, librarian of the United States Department of Labor, for she helped us all in many emergencies and on many occasions. Although born in England, she held an A.B. degree and Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Chicago and later became a member of the staff of the Library of Congress.

When Julia Lathrop became chief of the Children's Bureau, she wanted to start a library and wanted a librarian who had not only technical ability and experience but a broad understanding of the welfare movement and sympathy with its problems and purposes. Laura Thompson was the person chosen by Miss Lathrop, and the library she started for the Children's Bureau later became the Department of Labor Library.

Laura Thompson's distinguished service made the Department of Labor Library the outstanding library in the labor field in the

¹ In an article on "Planning Observation Programs for Foreign Welfare Personnel," by Anna W. Schneider and Mary S. Labaree, May, 1949.

² Including three who came on the UN program but who were considered by the Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Public Assistance to belong administratively to the 1947 program.

United States. "With tireless work and ever-knowing understanding she developed a research and reference library that served members of Congress, governmental purposes, research students and trade unionists." She not only collected primary and secondary sources in this country, but she kept current information on significant developments in Great Britain and European industrial countries. Experts from foreign countries regarded this library as the world source of information, and her bibliographies on labor subjects were widely used

in American and foreign libraries, large and small.

She had wide interests and wide knowledge and was appointed United States delegate to the International Conference on Child Welfare in 1925 and a delegate to the White House Conference on Child Welfare in 1930.

Ill health had forced her retirement in 1947, but her interest in labor questions and ways of service for a departmental library on labor subjects continued.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN SOCIAL SECURITY¹

To the Editor:

Social security legislation is certainly a most promising field for co-operation between the countries of western Europe, and the intention to develop that kind of co-operation finds expression in Article 2 of the Treaty of Brussels. That Article declares that "the High Contracting Parties will make every effort in common, both by direct consultation and in specialized agencies, to promote the attainment of a higher standard of living by their peoples and to develop on corresponding lines the social and other related services of their countries." It then refers to consultation between the high contracting parties "with the object of achieving the earliest possible application of recommendations of immediate practical interest relating to social matters, adopted with their approval in the specialized agencies." Finally, the high contracting parties bind themselves to endeavor "to conclude as soon as possible Conventions with each other in the sphere of social security."

A resolution adopted by the consultative council, which consists of the ministers of foreign affairs of the five signatory powers, has emphasized the desirability of making rapid progress in the conclusion of these conventions, and the permanent commission of the treaty has set up a committee of experts representing the five powers for the purpose.

It may be said that the social security legislation of all the five powers, as compared with the world standard, has already reached an advanced stage of development, although the process of evolution is by no means complete. The general objects of the different national systems and most of the risks which they cover are similar; but there are wide differences between them in emphasis and structure, and they are by no means always based on identical prin-

ciples. To take one example, in the United Kingdom contributions and benefits are both fixed at flat rates, whereas in France and Belgium (as in most European countries) they vary with the wages of the insured person. Again, in some schemes the benefits payable to the individual are closely linked to his record of contributions, whereas in other schemes the contributions are regarded more in the light of taxation and the benefits are payable when the risk is incurred without regard to the contributions of the individual. There are also differences in scope, some systems being more comprehensive than others as regards the categories of persons insured or the kinds of risks covered and in the duration of the benefits provided.

SEPARATE INSURANCE SYSTEMS

The co-existence of quite separate insurance systems in each country may result sometimes in double insurance when insurance is extended to cover residence abroad. More often national schemes do not cover insured persons who go abroad against the risks for which they may have contributed in their home country. For example, a man may have contributed for years to the insurance scheme of one country and may forfeit the rights he has acquired merely because he moves to another country. How can this disadvantage be avoided?

In theory, a common insurance system over the whole group of countries might seem to be the most attractive solution. The differences between the national systems are, however, usually deeply rooted in national sentiment as well as in national economic circumstances, and a uniform system of social insurance for the whole group might well fail to meet the particular needs of individual countries in the group. This of course does not mean that a common system will never be attainable, but it does mean that any assimilation of the principles and machinery of the different schemes to a common standard must be a matter of slow development and that some more practicable solution must be found for the immediate problem. In fact, that is what the concluding provision of Article 2 of the Treaty has in mind. There are already

¹ The writer of this letter, Mr. Cyril George Denys, has, since 1946, been working in Britain's Ministry of National Insurance on the preparation of a new national insurance scheme and on questions relating to social insurance overseas.

bilateral social insurance treaties—known in Britain as “reciprocal agreements”—between some of the five powers, and the intention is to extend them until there is a complete network of agreements linking up the social security systems of the whole group. It is proposed at a later stage to make an expert study of the possibilities of replacing or supplementing these bilateral agreements by a multilateral treaty applying to all five countries.

In essence a reciprocal agreement is one by which each of the two signatory countries undertakes to take account in some way or other of contributions or residence in the other country for the purposes of qualification for the benefits of its own scheme. Since this might result in inequality in the financial burden between the two countries where the balance of migration is heavily one way or where the level of contributions or benefits is widely different, the agreement may contain a provision for periodical “bulk” payments to adjust the load.

RECIPROCAL ARRANGEMENT

Such a provision, however, is not indispensable, as the two countries may be content with a reciprocal arrangement. Such an agreement may also make special provision under which migrants from one country to the other remain for a time within the scope of the first country's scheme and receive benefits from it. In such cases the country in which they are staying temporarily may act as the paying agent and put its own administrative machinery at the disposal of the other country. Finally, if the insurance scheme of one of the countries discriminates between its own nationals and foreigners—Britain's does not—there may be a provision for treating nationals of each country alike.

However little difference there may be between the countries on the broad principles at

issue, the actual formulation of the detailed provisions of a reciprocal agreement is often a matter of some technical difficulty. Each side must carefully study the provisions of the foreign insurance scheme to see how they interact with those of its own scheme. The parties have then to devise measures for relating these different provisions so as to avoid unnecessary gaps and overlaps. When the content of the draft agreement has been agreed on, it must be put into proper legal form acceptable to the draftsmen on both sides. Administrative arrangements, including all necessary forms and procedure, have to be drawn up between the two ministries concerned. The law of the two countries has to be modified so as to give effect to the agreement (in Britain this is done by order in council), dates of operation have to be fixed, and steps have to be taken through diplomatic channels to ratify the agreement.

Although the French system of insurance differs in many respects from that of Britain, it is also very highly developed, and it has already been possible for France and Britain to make a reciprocal agreement of a most comprehensive character. The benefits include those payable for sickness, maternity, industrial injuries, retirement, and death; and there are to be supplementary agreements to bring the main agreement into operation for each of these branches of social security. These matters, and also the administrative measures required, are being discussed between the two countries. Concurrently, negotiations are going on for parallel agreements between the United Kingdom and Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. Similar negotiations are in progress among the other countries in order to complete the network.

C. G. DENNYS

LONDON, ENGLAND

BOOK REVIEWS

Federal Employees in War and Peace: Selection, Placement, and Removal. By FRANCES T. CAHN. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1949. Pp. xiii+253. \$3.50.

This book makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of our federal civil service as it has been in the dim past, as it was before World War II, as it adjusted to meet the strains of the vast expansion of personnel during the war and the period of demobilization, and the lessons learned from that grueling experience.

The study was made possible by a grant from Columbia Foundation of San Francisco to the Brookings Institution. The choice of Frances T. Cahn to direct the study, with her background as research associate in the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of California and her subsequent decade of service with the Social Security Board, the Office of Price Administration, and the Bureau of the Budget, is a guaranty of the soundness of the findings and conclusions reached.

The text is easy reading and extremely well organized. Part I, "The Frame-Work of Federal Employment," covers in successive chapters the numerical changes in federal employment from 1939 to 1948; classification and salary standards; recruitment; qualifications; examinations; procedures and practices; appointment and certification; transfer and promotion; layoff policies.

The colossal task of personnel expansion under civil service, which quadrupled from June, 1939, to June, 1945, to a high of 3,800,000 and which declined over 55 per cent from June, 1945, to June, 1947, was met by the United States Civil Service Commission in the face of competition from war industries and Selective Service for manpower. Miss Cahn states: "To preserve the principles of the merit system even in a 'battered form' made the task gigantic. Any criticism of the success or failure of the Civil Service Commission in carrying out its plans should be tempered by a realization of the size of the job, the courage that it demonstrated, and the fact that it did preserve the principles it had set itself to defend."

Part II of the text, "The Upper Bracket Civil Servant: His Background and Career," deals with "his background, how he entered the service, how he fared under the rules and regula-

tions of the Civil Service Commission and what he thinks of the federal government" as an employer.

This study, by the questionnaire method, was limited to employees with salaries of \$4,902 or more, under the pay act of 1946, and dealt with the departments of Labor, Commerce, Agriculture, Navy, the Federal Public Housing Authority, and the Federal Security Agency.

Space does not permit a detailed discussion of the results of the questionnaire; as usual only approximately 49 per cent replied; of these, numbering 730, only 85 were female; two-thirds entered federal service at a higher rate than previously earned; one-quarter of the sample approved efficiency ratings and "over one half of the 730 employees suggested 421 ways in which efficiency ratings might be improved"; 60 per cent thought the government was a "good" employer, the major reasons given "concerned leave, salary, annuity, and security."

Everyone concerned with personnel management might profitably read in detail the results of this study.

The final appraisal of the findings of the first and second sections of this study, made by Miss Cahn and those associated with her, in seven and a half brief pages, provides food for thought not only on the federal but also on state and municipal levels of personnel recruitment, selection, appointment, and management.

If we are to have "good government" in our democracy, this can only be realized when the administration of our governmental functions is in the hands of wisely chosen, devoted public servants, from the "top brass" to the lowliest messenger and maintenance man or woman, held together as a working team by good management.

ELLEN C. POTTER, M.D.

*Department of Institutions and Agencies
of New Jersey*

The Hoover Commission Report on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949. Pp. xvi+524. \$3.75.

The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government was cre-

ated by unanimous vote of Congress on July 14, 1947, when the Lodge-Brown Act provided for a twelve-man bipartisan commission, six members to be appointed by each party. Four commissioners were to be selected by the President of the United States, four by the president of the Senate, and four by the speaker of the House of Representatives. The commission, as finally selected, was composed of Herbert Hoover, chairman; Dean Acheson, vice-chairman; Arthur S. Flemming, James Forrestal, George H. Mead, George D. Aiken, Joseph P. Kennedy, John L. McClellan, James K. Pollock, Clarence J. Brown, Carter Manasco, and James H. Rowe, Jr.

The commission's approach to its responsibility was to divide the problems of government and management into some twenty-three areas of inquiry. Six of these areas related to staff or "housekeeping" services. These areas were overall management of the Executive Branch, budgeting and accounting, statistical activities, supply activities, personnel management, and general services, which included record management and public buildings. Twelve areas of inquiry related to problems concerning the grouping of programs and the operation of the major departments or agencies. These twelve areas covered foreign affairs, national security, Treasury Department, the Post Office, Department of Agriculture, Department of Interior, Department of Commerce, Department of Labor, medical activities, veterans' affairs, social security and education (combined), and Indian affairs. Five areas of inquiry related to special problems of governmental administration. These problems related to regulatory commissions, business enterprises, federal-state relations, overseas administration, and federal research.

Having formulated these twenty-three areas of inquiry, the commission created special research committees, called "task forces," which were given the responsibility of conducting a full investigation into each of these respective areas. These reports were then considered by the commission as a whole, which formulated its own report as to the nature of the problem, findings, and recommendations. The commission published its reports separately from time to time. The reports as a whole are well presented. The text is readable; there is amazing freedom from technical terms, lengthy legal provisions, or the wrong type of statistical presentation. Excellent use has been made of charts and other visual-aid devices.

The volume at hand, *The Hoover Commission*

Report, is a compilation of these separate or segmental reports by the commission. The dissents and minority views found in some of the segmental reports have been unfortunately omitted in this volume, nor have the full task-force reports been included. Some of these task-force reports, however, have been published as supplementary reports and in some instances make a valuable contribution to the body of knowledge. Social workers will also read with interest—but not necessarily with agreement—the task-force report on "Public Welfare," which was formulated by the staff of the Brookings Institution.

Over 250 recommendations are made by the commission. Some of the recommendations are broad and sweeping, such as that the whole budgetary concept of the federal government should be refashioned by the adoption of a budget based upon functions, activities, and projects—to be called a "performance budget." Other recommendations are specific and concrete, such as "the Washington Office of the Indian Service should use more personnel with field experience." Running throughout the recommendations, a certain basic philosophy of governmental administration can be discerned. Many concepts make up this philosophy. The following three, however, would seem to constitute a basic trilogy of administrative organization. First, there must be a general strengthening of the line of command from the President down through the departments and divisions to the smallest units of operation, coupled with a general reduction of independent agencies and boards. (The commission's recommendations would reduce the number of separate departments and agencies from over sixty to fewer than twenty-five.) Second, the staff services—personnel, budgeting, supplies, and so forth—should be wholesomely decentralized back into the operating departments. Third, there should be a restoring of programs or activities to the department which was historically established to perform these functions in our national life.

Although the recommendations are too numerous for one even to begin to give a fair and representative sample of them, the following are presented because of their possible interest to social workers: (1) A department of welfare and education, with cabinet status, should be created. (2) A separate medical agency (tentatively titled, "United Medical Administration") should be established to administer the public health service, Veterans Administration hospitals and out-patient services, the general hospitals and station

hospitals of the armed forces in the continental United States, and the four nonmilitary hospitals in the Canal Zone. (3) The Children's Bureau should be divested of its grants-in-aid responsibility and be shifted to a general staff capacity to the secretary of the department (which would keep it separate from the Bureau of Public Assistance). (4) The Bureau of Indian Affairs should be transferred to the newly proposed department. (5) The whole program of old age and survivors insurance should be reviewed in respect to benefit formula, coverage, scope of protection afforded, contribution, and financial policy. (6) All housing activities should be placed in one agency under a single administrator. (7) The federal administration of both employment service and unemployment compensation—but not the Railroad Retirement Board—should be placed in the Department of Labor. (8) The grant-in-aid plan and program should be generally "clarified and systematized." (Although not a recommendation, a text comment is made to the effect that the grants should be established upon broader categories, such as highways, education, public assistance, rather than the "present system of extensive fragmentation.")

The *Hoover Commission Report* has great significance for social workers as citizens, as persons employed in public agencies or in private agencies affected by governmental policy and practice, and as members of professional organizations whose goals of protection and security of the individual are similar to those of democratic government. One may not be in accord with all the recommendations of the commission. The recommendations relating to the organization of the staff services are very disappointing and at best can be accepted only as "compromise measures" which had to be made in order to secure any pronouncement at all by the commission. There is unevenness in the consideration of one area of inquiry to another, and even glaring defects, such as the lack of a thorough consideration of federal-state relations, which is the core of our American system of government. Nevertheless, the *Report* is an outstanding achievement, at times to the point of enthusiasm and inspiration. Already the President has presented for congressional approval or disapproval a number of the recommendations, including the one that a Department of Welfare be created. In the long run how much will be saved in expenditures remains to be seen, but the carrying-out of the recommendations will do much to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of administration

tion of the Executive Branch of our federal government.

NORRIS E. CLASS

University of Southern California
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New Hope for the Handicapped: The Rehabilitation of the Disabled from Bed to Job. By HOWARD A. RUSK, M.D., and EUGENE J. TAYLOR. Foreword by BERNARD M. BARUCH. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Pp. xiv + 231. \$3.00.

Take Up Thy Bed and Walk. By DAVID HINSHAW. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1948. Pp. xvi + 252. \$2.75.

The title probably characterizes the first book better than any other brief statement could. The purpose of the book, which is not explicitly stated, appears to be to inform that heterogeneous mass, the "general public," of the "new hope for the handicapped" in modern rehabilitation methods. Accordingly, the book is not technical, and it is descriptive rather than analytical. Since the authors have drawn upon a wealth of recently published material, it is unfortunate that the sources from which data and quotations are taken are neither fully specified in the text nor cited in footnotes.

The authors' approach is a very extensive one. They discuss rehabilitation of servicemen in the armed forces, of veterans by the Veterans Administration, and of civilians under the federal-state program of vocational rehabilitation and in hospitals and rehabilitation centers. Later chapters are devoted to the particular rehabilitation problems of medical patients, surgical patients, neurological patients, and those injured in accidents, both industrial and nonindustrial. In each chapter the best available data on the extent of the particular problem are given, recent significant developments are cited, and "best" practice is briefly described, usually both in general terms and in relation to a specific case history or two.

This volume, then, constitutes a good general introduction to rehabilitation. It concentrates on the bright spots and shows what is being done here and there. Obviously, it was not intended to be, nor is it, more than a very general introduction, in spite of the fact that a great deal of information is packed into it. The treatment can be neither comprehensive nor analytical when so important a subject as the

rehabilitation of the tuberculous, for example, is compressed into seven pages. The book is well organized and written in a style that makes for rapid reading.

Dr. Rusk is currently professor and chairman of the Department of Rehabilitation and Physical Medicine, New York University College of Medicine, and an associate editor of the *New York Times*. He was formerly chief of the Army Air Forces Convalescent Services Division. Mr. Taylor is Dr. Rusk's junior colleague in the College of Medicine, where he is an instructor in the Department of Rehabilitation and Physical Medicine; he is Dr. Rusk's assistant on the *New York Times*; and he was formerly chief, Education Branch, Convalescent-Rehabilitation Division of the Army Air Forces. The authors have thus been in the vanguard of war and postwar rehabilitation.

Take Up Thy Bed and Walk is advertised as "the story of the origin and development of the new science of physical rehabilitation and the role of the Institute for the Crippled and Disabled in New York in this great work." Unfortunately, the book falls far short of this goal: it is not a general treatise on the development of rehabilitation, nor does it give a clear account of the history of New York's famous Institute for the Crippled and Disabled. Although considerable reading and study have gone into its preparation, the book reflects an insufficient analysis of the material and, as a result, lacks focus and balance.

MARY E. MACDONALD

University of Chicago

Citizen Thomas More and His Utopia. By RUSSELL AMES. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. viii+230. \$3.50.

This small volume on that versatile genius Sir Thomas More deals largely with his activities as a member of the English middle class and his *Utopia* as the reflection of the merchant-capitalists' attack against feudalism. It is a book for the specialist and will probably have little interest for the general reader. It does, however, serve to remind us that the early sixteenth century was one of the great periods of liberal thought and that *Utopia*, written more than four hundred years ago (1515-16), still stirs the minds of men. More and the Continental humanists—the great Erasmus and Vives, the author of the first treatise on poor relief—were

remarkable men. They were interested in such practical matters as education and social reform, as well as being scholars and philosophers. The first part of *Utopia* should still be read by any serious student of English reform movements for its ringing attack on the social evils of the time, especially the oppression of the poor and the cruelties of the legal system. This new study of More, and there are many other analyses of his *Utopia*, adds another interpretation of the man and his times and largely takes issue with a volume by the socialist Karl Kautsky, *Thomas More and His Utopia*, published in 1890, and a recent study (1936) by R. W. Chambers, which has been classified as a medievalist interpretation of the famous book.

ELIZABETH WISNER

Tulane University

State Intervention in Great Britain: A Study of Economic Control and Social Response, 1914-1919. By SAMUEL J. HURWITZ. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. x+321. \$4.00.

The most detailed part of this book is a 160-page analysis of the mobilization of industry and labor, including the development of industrial welfare services as a contribution to wartime productive efficiency. This is followed by a section less than half as long, dealing with the psychological and social response of the nation to this total mobilization. It ends with a bare eleven pages on postwar reconstruction, omitting all reference to Fisher's Education Act and to the dream of homes for heroes, just as it omits discussion of the redistribution of income by war. It is outside its province to inquire whether the war did or did not have lasting institutional effects or whether it did more than speed up changes already under way.

As history this book is well documented and well written. It is the kind of history that concentrates on certain aspects of a great event and deals with them exhaustively rather than broadly. It demonstrates a considerable mastery of the tools of the historical trade. The choice, however, of its theme seems to have been dictated by hypotheses that come not from history but from other sources. It seems to make two major assumptions: the first would be that government intervention in the economy is a threat to civilization; and the second would be that, because of its role in precipitating this intervention, "war must be regarded as a threat to the

civilization it is intended to defend" (p. vii). Being history, and not social science, this book does not seem to investigate the validity of assumptions such as these. They result, however, in a kind of historical pessimism and in a scholarly labor that is likely to lead from nowhere to nowhere.

W. HARDY WICKWAR

*Hamilton College
Clinton, New York*

Health and Welfare Services Handbook. By JOHN MOSS, C.B.E. London: Hadden, Best & Co., Ltd., 1949. Pp. 376. 25s.

This is the book of a practical administrator who knows his job and understands his authorities. It sets out clearly the administrative duties as they are now distributed under the social legislation which came into effect on July 5, 1948, in Great Britain. It shows two contrary tendencies of great importance in the development of the public social services in Great Britain. On the one hand, there is the concentration of responsibility and duties in national functional departments, like the Ministry of Health or the National Assistance Board; on the other hand, the local authorities, especially those of the great cities, county boroughs and counties, are shown to have a major part to play in the administration of the social services. This redistribution of administrative functions and clarification of the part of the local authority is clearly set out in the chapter on "Central and Local Authorities." The legislative authority is crisply defined and illuminated by brief quotations from the government's departmental circulars of advice and instruction. It is a matter for comment, in passing, that the local committees functioning with the National Assistance plan *must* contain women as well as men.

This is a handbook—that is to say, a book which lies at the elbow of the administrator, where he can find easily and quickly the relevant information he needs to deal with immediate questions. Not only must it be well arranged, succinct, and not too elaborate, but it must be accurate and it must give adequate reference to statutes, administrative circulars, appropriate cases in law, and other legal matter. Mr. Moss's volume is an excellent example of a good handbook. Relevant law cases are listed as well as quoted. All the statutes that the social

welfare administrator needs are set out in a preliminary table with appropriate page references, accompanied by a "Short List" of the most essential "Statutory Rules and Orders and Instruments." The index in a publication of this kind is one of its most important features. The Index of this book is a contribution to good administration for which local and central government civil servants in Britain may well say thank-you to Mr. Moss. It occupies 51 out of the 376 pages of the book; it is skilfully organized, well laid out, and adequately cross-referenced.

The practical consequences of the extensive legislation in the postwar period can now be traced. Mr. Moss has sorted out the welfare functions into logical and orderly groupings and deals with each group of functions in a separate chapter. The provision of residential accommodation; the local authority welfare services; local authority welfare staffs; liability for maintenance; mental health responsibilities; the care of children; economic security benefits; and the pattern of assistance duties and payments—each has its chapter, clearly arranged, documented with appropriate references, and set out for quick and accurate reference. The words used are the substantive language of the laws or the administrative instruments. The choice of appropriate parts and their arrangement is that of Mr. Moss, and he has done a skilful job.

The value of this book to workers on this continent lies in the fact that here in a handy form all the relevant social legislation of Britain, together with appropriate administrative instructions, has been winnowed out from the mass. Administrators who want to check procedures can do so from this book with ease and feel sure they are getting accurate information. Social workers who want to compare welfare provision in Britain can quickly find the facts of the situation without suspicion that they are colored by interpretation, since Mr. Moss has stuck to the text of the official papers. Students who need a guide to this complex and somewhat unorganized mass of legislation can find either the exact reference they need or an easy clue to it. This book is comprehensive without being ponderous and is well produced. It should be in any reference library which extends its interests to the field of social legislation in Great Britain.

JOHN S. MORGAN

University of Toronto

Rural Life in the United States. By CARL C. TAYLOR, ARTHUR F. RAPER, LOUIS J. DUCOFF, EDGAR A. SCHULER, MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD, J. DOUGLAS ENSMINGER, T. WILSON LONGMORE, WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1940. Pp. ix+549+xii. \$6.75; text ed. \$5.00.

This book is intended to be "a comprehensive and authoritative survey of rural sociology" specifically designed as a text for college students. All the authors either have been or are now affiliated, as rural sociologists, with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the United States Department of Agriculture, but this is not an official work. The book is illustrated by 33 plates, 48 maps and charts, and 65 tables, most of which are from the files of federal governmental agencies. The text is undocumented except for a selected bibliography organized by chapter headings. A detailed index enhances its usefulness as a reference book.

The thirty chapters of the book are arranged in five parts. Part I, dealing with "Rural Society and Rural Sociology," and Part V, called "Farmers in a Changing World," are largely the work of Carl C. Taylor, who is head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare. Part II, "Rural Organization," covers such subjects as the major rural institutions, rural health, rural welfare, and rural recreation and art. Part III, "Rural People," includes population data, an analysis of occupational patterns, levels and standards of living, and "Rural Social Differentials." The authors point out that Part IV, "Rural Regions," is "unique in a book on rural sociology because it discusses each of the seven type-farming areas in the United States as if it were a cultural region." They recognize that the anthropologists rather than the sociologists have contributed most of the cultural-area studies, but since they have neglected the study of contemporary rural life the authors believe that this part of their book is a start toward a rural anthropology. Walter C. McKain, Jr., contributed the chapter "The Specialty-Crop Areas," while Raper and Taylor contributed those dealing with the corn belt, the dairy areas, the general self-sufficing areas, the wheat areas, and the range-livestock areas. The frame of reference in each chapter of Part IV is the way in which the people of that area make a living. Recognition is given in the introductory chapter to some of the components of culture that are not related to the type of farming, but this work consists primarily of an analysis of the effect of the mode of making a living and the

techniques of production and marketing on the ideologies, opinions, attitudes, and values of the people farming there. The authors have drawn heavily on the research data produced by the FERA and other federal agencies of the depression years. In developing this aspect the tendency is naturally to seem to exaggerate this one factor and to generalize more at times than seems sound.

The scope of the book is tremendous. It brings together and summarizes much of the major literature in this broad field, hence many subjects are necessarily dealt with inadequately. For example, the chapter on rural welfare is limited almost entirely to a discussion of public assistance and social insurance.

The most interesting chapters to this reviewer are the one dealing with the evolution of American rural society, the one which summarizes a number of studies of attitudes and opinions of people living on farms, and the one called "The Farmers Movement and Large Farmers Organizations." On the whole it is a useful reference book for students of social work, particularly for the preprofessional student, and it has the advantages that accrue from the collaboration of specialists.

GRACE BROWNING

Indiana University

Reappraising Our Immigration Policy. Edited by HUGH CARTER. ("Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," Vol. CCLXII.) Philadelphia, 1949. Pp. v+192. \$2.00.

This volume is recommended to anyone wishing to make a quick survey of our immigration policy and procedure. The twenty-one articles included in it furnish authoritative information on the important aspects of immigration and its impact on our national life and are written by experts in their particular fields. As the title indicates, *reappraisal* of present immigration policy is the volume's chief aim; tentative suggestions as to future policy are, however, also included.

The articles are grouped under the following headings: historic aspects of immigration, demographic factors in immigration policy, assimilation of the foreign-born, and current immigration problems in the United States. It is impossible in the space allotted this review to deal separately with all these articles; all are recom-

mended reading "International Implications of American Immigration Policy," written by a United Nations official, sounds a comparatively new note. As Dr. Hugh Carter, who has edited this volume of the *Annals* and who is supervisor of general research for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, points out in the prefacing "Perspective," the world situation being what it is, "domestic consideration of the question cannot be divorced from its international implications." The subject of refugees and displaced persons is handled by such eminent authorities as Maurice R. Davie and Eugene M. Kulischer. Watson B. Miller, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, has written on the administration of our immigration laws, and Henry Pratt Fairchild on "Public Opinion on Immigration." Carl Wittke and Edward P. Hutchinson have contributed interesting articles on American immigration policy—before World War I and since World War I. The assimilation of the foreign-born and the agencies, public and private, which promote it, are dealt with competently by Ruth Z. Murphy, National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship; Edith Terry Bremer, American Federation of International Institutes; and Yaroslav Chyz and Read Lewis, Common Council for American Unity. Clyde V. Kiser, Milbank Memorial Foundation, has written on "Cultural Pluralism."

The discussion of demographic factors in immigration policy unquestionably constitutes the highlight of the volume. Population expert Warren S. Thompson points out that under existing conditions the United States faces a stationary—and rapidly aging—population and probably a declining population "at no very distant time." Other experts discuss our manpower requirements and the manpower shortages disclosed during World War II and even subsequently. Increased immigration would be somewhat remedial in both respects, but potential sources of immigration, several articles make clear, are scarce; except for the immediate future, Europe will have little, if any, surplus population for export. The advisability of supplying manpower needs by importing workers for temporary stay under treaty agreements, as has been done successfully in Europe since World War I and was done here in World War II, is also discussed in some detail.

MARIAN SCHISBY

Fillmore, California

Witnesses for Freedom. By REBECCA CHALMERS BARTON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1948. Pp. xiii+294. \$3.50.

This study, done under a Rockefeller Foundation grant-in-aid by a University of Wisconsin research associate, is "a digest and interpretative comparison" of the autobiographies of twenty-three Negro-Americans. It covers variations in economic and social background, in attitude, temperament, and "psychological temperature" so wide that the fallacy of "stereotyping" becomes obvious. The author establishes certain broad divisions among the views presented, as indicated by her chapter headings—"The Accommodators," "The Achievers," "The Experimenters," and "Protesters for a New Freedom"—and she closes with a summary of points covered and possibilities envisioned, in the light of a sounder understanding of human psychology and anthropology.

In some measure Mrs. Barton's formulation of her material suggests Dr. Karen Horney's division of human personalities into those who "go toward" others, those who "go against," and those who "withdraw." She has an acute comprehension of the "forced isolation of Negroes from normal activities" and makes careful distinction between the reactions of individual temperaments to environment—the warmth, wit, and independence of a Zora Neale Hurston, the devout gentleness of an Elizabeth Adams, the sad and bitter realism of a Herndon, the "withering, grave sickness of doubt" of a Redding. In her first group, the "Accommodators," we see a tentative and respectful presentation of problems by Booker T. Washington and the "gradualists," limited in general to a plea for better living conditions and for vocational education. Here, even the book titles—*Up from Slavery* and *A Nickel and a Prayer*—indicate an "ambitious submission"—never aggression; and the self-portraits stress idealism and conformity, although conscious of injustice, brutality, and the "double-standard" of accepted Negro-white behavior. Since the "Achievers" are limited to those who have left autobiographies, we miss some notable figures who are without self-chronicles. But in those included we find a pride of race and a sense of race responsibility, without "inner defeat," without self-pity, and with a challenge to obstacles. Among the "Experimenters" are the poets, the dreamers, those who find expression in the arts, or a kind of fulfillment in natural beauty, or the religious life.

"Protesters for a New Freedom" form per-

haps the most interesting group—Frederick Douglass, powerful of mind and purpose; fiery, scholarly Du Bois; Langston Hughes (who “felt behind him Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, John Brown, Fred Douglass, folks who left no buildings behind them, only a wind of words fanning the flame of the spirit down the dark lanes of time”), James Weldon Johnson, Saunders Redding, and Richard Wright. The “circumstance of color” in a country ostensibly dedicated to democratic ideals is bringing a certain schizophrenic quality to us all today, and we may well recall Emerson’s adjuration to

Go, put your creed into your deed,
Nor speak with double tongue.

Perhaps before too long the “precarious snobishness” that rejects the basic in favor of the arbitrary and the superficial will yield to the rational right (and fate, if you will) of every individual to be known by what he is as a *human being*, free from “special scorn, special tolerance . . . special commiseration,” free from caste-within-caste, and free to take his place, wherever it may be, within a spectrum of *like-mindedness* rather than of color. Until that time, there can be little reality in “One World.” Panoramic but condensed, this study gives us perhaps no new material but brings obscured or scattered beams of light into focus behind “the black curtain” which make clearer its shabby and synthetic quality and reveal the real people it has served to conceal.

JESSIE HIRSCHL

Chicago

Juvenile Delinquency. (“Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,” Vol. CCLXI.) Philadelphia, 1949. Pp. viii+233. \$2.00.

As the juvenile court movement rounds out its first fifty years, an entire issue of the *Annals* is appropriately devoted to juvenile delinquency. Seventeen aspects of the subject are discussed in brief, authoritative articles by persons long and intimately associated with the study or treatment of this troublesome social problem.

The court is examined from every angle. Its philosophy, organization, function, and place in a world of changing concepts of child welfare are scrutinized, criticized, and evaluated. The reader is left with the conviction that the zeal of its founders was warranted and that after a half-century of experience we are still experimenting

to determine the appropriate role of the court in the area of planning and care for disadvantaged children. A series of articles deals with the delinquent and his environment. Family, neighborhood, and community influences are covered in remarkably complete condensations of current thinking. Collectively, these contributions serve to emphasize the multiplicity of causal factors in delinquency, and the importance of seeing each in its proper perspective with reference to the total cause-and-effect relationship.

The present status of social organization for delinquency control is summarized by Dr. Lowell J. Carr, of the University of Michigan, who finds that most states are “reacting to public uneasiness about juvenile delinquency” by setting up preventive services. Developments have been uneven and mostly unrelated, with many trials and frequent errors. Edwin Powers, director of the Cambridge-Somerville (Massachusetts) Youth Study, describes the rather inconclusive results of a project to measure the effect of scientific treatment of a group of potential delinquents over a period of several years in relation to a control group for whom nothing special was done.

Detention, probation, foster-home placement, and institutional treatment are considered in terms of the present and the future. The sordid spectacle of children in local jails continues to haunt the American scene. Austin MacCormick sees state intervention as the greatest hope in this area. Other writers point out the need for more imaginative and better-rounded programs in detention homes and training schools, offering tangible and workable suggestions for improvement of these facilities. The values of probation supervision in the child’s own home and the considerations governing successful foster-family placement are outlined, with stress upon the importance of proper planning for the individual child.

Students of juvenile delinquency will welcome this digest as a helpful review of past achievement and mistakes, present practice, and the outlook for the future. If our thinking is still somewhat confused, it is nevertheless maturing in the light of experience. The next fifty years will provide a rich opportunity to demonstrate our capacity to move forward in the direction of intelligent social planning for *all* children. Those who become delinquent should find it less difficult than in the past to receive helpful understanding and effective guidance.

RICHARD EDDY

Illinois Children’s Hospital-School

Freedom of Information. By HERBERT BRUCKER.
New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. 307.
\$4.00.

This is a very good, timely, and useful book, and no one should venture to discuss the press problem—the real subject of the work, not sufficiently indicated by the vague title—without knowledge of its contents. But the truth is, the book should have been even better than it is. Mr. Brucker is the editor of the Hartford, Connecticut, *Courant*, one of the few responsible newspapers we have in “the provinces,” and he is fully aware of the existence and nature of the press problem. He has read and pondered the so-called “Hutchins report” on *A Free and Responsible Press*. He comments upon some statements in that vitally important document but fails to deal with its grave indictment of our commercial press. He observes that it charges the press with “lying” and furnishes no bill of particulars to support that serious count. Mr. Brucker does not need a bill of particulars; and the public, as he recognizes, has a rather low opinion of the veracity and reliability of the daily press. Moreover, Seldes, in his weekly, *In Fact*, which he describes as “an antidote for the falsehood in the daily press,” has over and over again *proved* that the press kills news, “buries” news, and slants news in order to please Big Business and Big Advertising. Mr. Brucker argues with Seldes about the feasibility of labor newspapers, but he completely ignores the

damning evidence heaped up by Seldes of mendacity, wilful falsehood, or suppression.

Mr. Brucker appeals to history for grounds justifying a moderate optimism in the further growth of objectivity and impartiality in the handling of news by the press as well as in editorial interpretation of all news—political, industrial, social, and religious. His historical chapters and sections are valuable and appear, as he says, to refute much of the “ignorant” leftist criticism of the press. He speaks of the tradition of objectivity as a most significant fact and urges the sincere application of that objectivity to the editorial columns. He realizes that his demands are not easy to meet, but he believes deeply in the dignity, power, and influence of the Fourth Estate in a genuine democracy. His logic here and there is a little uncertain, but his ideals and standards are high indeed.

He rejects, for adequate reasons, the various alternatives that have been favored by the radical groups—municipal papers, for example—and reaches the conclusion that courageous and enlightened self-reform is the only promising solution for our press problem. This reviewer, in the light of half a century of experience in the newspaper profession, cannot share Mr. Brucker's hopes or half-expectations, but he has learned something from, and enjoyed much of, the book. It deserves wide study and discussion.

VICTOR S. YARROS

La Jolla, California

BRIEF NOTICES

Rural Life in Process. By PAUL H. LANDIS. 2d ed.
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1948.
Pp. xix+538. \$4.00.

This is a revised edition of a text that has been widely used by college teachers of rural sociology. The author is chairman of the Division of Rural Sociology at the State College of Washington. The first edition was reviewed at some length in this journal,¹ hence the new edition can be dealt with somewhat briefly.

There are five major parts and an appendix. Part I covers “The Structure and Organization of Rural Life in the United States”; Part II, “Social Experience and Personality Formation”; Part III, “Interaction Processes of a Dynamic Society”; Part IV, “Social Institutions in a Changing Culture”; and Part V, “Emerging Problems of a Dynamic Society.”

Five chapters have replaced the four chapters previously devoted to rural migration, incorporating material from recent special studies of the subject.

Another chapter has been added dealing with the fertility of the rural population; and data relating to recent changes in wage rates, housing, and farm labor problems have been inserted at appropriate points throughout the book.

Of special interest to social workers should be the two chapters which deal with “Rural Pathology and Welfare Institutions” and “Rural Welfare and Rehabilitation.” However, one can only wish that the author had asked a social worker to write these chapters for him as they do not constitute an adequate introduction to the place of social work in the rural community or to the philosophy and methods of professional social work, which he does not seem fully to understand.

Landis writes in an interesting manner, and his material is well documented, but the range of material is so great that one man could not possibly write in an equally authoritative manner on each subject. He has succeeded in integrating rural economics with rural sociology in a skillful manner but has not in the same way made use of the contributions of dynamic individual psychology. Hence there seems to this reviewer to be an overemphasis at times on

¹ *Social Service Review*, XIV (December, 1940), 766-68.

the effect of rural society on personality formation to the exclusion of the important factors of individual and family-life experience.

Parts of the book are useful as a reference for rural social workers as material is brought together from many studies bearing on various aspects of rural culture, and the author never loses sight of the dynamic nature of rural society.

GRACE BROWNING

Task, Nos. 7-8. Cambridge, Mass., 1948. Pp. 96. \$1.00.

Task was founded before World War II by teachers and students in Cambridge (Massachusetts). Its broad, and somewhat unfocused, purpose was "to examine the physical, social and economic aspects of city and resources planning, and of housing and architecture." Six issues appeared before the exigencies of war necessitated suspension of publication. The present combined numbers (7 and 8) are the first to appear since the end of hostilities. Whether the publication can be continued and, if so, how frequently it can appear are still unanswered questions, as the editor points out.

Meantime the present issue, if uneven in quality, is nevertheless exceedingly interesting. It contains no fewer than twenty-three articles and, in addition, a bibliography and a cumulative index. A provocative leading article by Catherine Bauer, entitled "Reconstruction," is followed by fourteen pieces on the current status of building and rebuilding in fourteen different countries or cities. Among these the most informative is the one on Canada by Fred Lasserre and the most exciting is the one on Tokyo by Charles A. Beard.

The fourteen articles on specific jurisdictions are followed by a half-dozen on topics of a more general character, two of which are superlative pieces of writing both in content and in style.

These are "The Housing Impasse," by Richard F. Watt, and "On Genuine Education," by Joseph Hudnut. Mr. Watt, though occasionally bitter, is nevertheless a past master in the framing of aphorisms, as witness the following: "In American political jargon an emergency is a deep-rooted and recurring problem which never receives anything but an exclusively *ad hoc* treatment"; "the impasse in housing is man-made, government sanctioned, and legally blessed"; "before we can modernize the framework of the house we must modernize the framework that makes the house."

Joseph Hudnut, dean of the Faculty of Design at Harvard University, has contributed an article that merits repeated reading. The thousands of men and women who are groping for an answer to the question, "What education is genuine?" will find that these few pages bring them face to face with the issues upon which the future of the human race depends.

WAYNE McMILLEN

The Roots of Prejudice against the Negro in the United States. By NAOMI FRIEDMAN GOLDSTEIN. Boston: Boston University Press, 1948. Pp. ix+213. \$2.50.

The author of this book was killed in a traffic accident in 1946 at the age of twenty-six. She was an attractive, intelligent, and earnest young woman, and her college teachers pay sincere tributes in the volume to her character and ability.

We learn from one of them that the book under notice is the thesis submitted by her in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy, which was duly awarded her in 1944. She certainly deserved that degree. She was a conscientious student of sociology and had a clear and logical mind.

There is nothing very original in her conclusions, but the general reader, who is not likely to peruse solid and comprehensive tomes on the Negro problem or on racial and religious prejudice, will find them valid and well grounded. She treats her theme historically as well as scientifically, in the light of modern knowledge of psychology, economics, and anthropology. She follows up her conclusions with sensible and constructive suggestions of a practical nature. The book should be read and discussed in college classes, settlements, and other agencies and institutions which have to work with Negroes, or Mexicans, or Japanese, or immigrants of any racial origin and religious affiliations.

The Naomi Friedman Goldstein Foundation, which published the book, will be glad to provide copies of it, upon application, to any library or public institution. I heartily recommend it.

V. S. Y.

You Can't Win: Facts and Fallacies about Gambling. By ERNEST E. BLANCHE. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1949. Pp. 155. \$2.00.

Dr. Blanche is chief statistician for the Logistics Division of the Army General Staff. For years one of his avocations has been the analysis of gambling devices and games of chance. His knowledge of mathematics has thus served his leisure, as well as his working, hours. Not only has he computed the probabilities of winning in the so-called "honest" games; he has also made it his business to discover the multitudinous shady plans by which the already favorable probabilities enjoyed by the "operator" can be enhanced at will. All the familiar rackets, from the relatively respectable roulette wheels of Monte Carlo to the gigantic "numbers" industry of Chicago and New York, are analyzed and exposed in this book. From this mass of evidence the author has distilled thirteen sound reasons for avoiding the "get-rich-quick" lures of the race track, the carnival, the gambling hall. But the thirteen reasons really boil down to one: You can't win.

W. McM.

Government of Cities in the United States. By HAROLD ZINK. Rev. ed. New York: Macmillan, 1948. Pp. x+637. \$5.00.

This is a revised edition of a popular text first published nine years ago. The author, a professor of political science in Ohio State University, has done a useful piece of work in getting out this second edition of what has been a very successful book. While the revisions seem to be for the most part minor additions and expansions, the author notes that "the last two decades have witnessed significant changes in the field of municipal government in the United States." He cites as examples of recent developments the enlarged role of the federal government in city affairs, the elaboration of public welfare programs, the changed emphasis in city planning, the improvement in local public personnel practices, the added interest in public housing, and the accentuation of the difficulties incident to obtaining adequate municipal revenues.

It is also pointed out that courses in public administration have been added to the curriculums of various universities. The author suggests in the new Preface that "the drift away from a predominant emphasis upon the legal aspects of city government, especially in undergraduate courses, and the growing realization of the vigorous role of political organizations and machines may also be mentioned as developments which contribute to a new treatment of municipal problems."

Bishop Brent: Crusader for Christian Unity. By ALEXANDER C. ZABRISKIE. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1948. Pp. 217. \$3.75.

Dean Zabriskie's biography traces the growth in work, in mind, and in spirit that brought Bishop Brent from the position of an obscure curate to that of a presiding officer of international conferences. It tells of his work in Boston slums, in the Philippines, with the AEF in France, with international assemblies dedicated to church unity. It "captures that warmth of personality which drew to the Bishop all kinds of men, as he was drawn to them," and it shows the Bishop's passionate desire for a church that "would stand above individuals, nations, races,

sects." One chapter sets forth the substance and the quality of the Bishop's religious faith.

The period called "Ten Years in the City Wilderness" includes the last decade of the nineteenth century, when Bishop Brent worked in the Episcopal City Mission in Boston's South End. In 1901 he became Bishop of the Philippine Islands, where he worked until his death in 1929. His efforts to put an end to the opium question were especially important, and he is said to have made the first move leading to international action on this problem. "His studies as a member of the Philippine Committee convinced him that only by international agreement and action based thereon could anything be done to free individuals and the world from the ill effects of habit-forming drugs. To him the very core of the problem was that opium and cocaine broke down the will of the individual user, so that he had to have protection and help from outside to make and keep him free. Travel and investigation in the Far East had made it quite clear that no small or weak nation . . . could erect any barrier at its frontiers that would keep out opium. Small in bulk and readily reducible to various forms, drugs were easily smuggled into any country; and the trade was so highly lucrative that corruption of officials could readily be considered a charge upon profits."

On July 24, 1906, Bishop Brent wrote President Theodore Roosevelt, urging him to take the lead in calling an international conference to consider the opium problem. Mr. Roosevelt issued in due time a call for the first International Opium Commission at Shanghai in 1909, with Bishop Brent on the American delegation. Another international conference on the opium problem was convened at The Hague in December, 1911, with Bishop Brent at the head of the American delegation, this time by appointment from President Taft. The gathering was more widely representative than the one at Shanghai, and the delegates came with a much clearer conception of the problems involved and more definite instructions from the governments.

This is an interesting biography of a distinguished churchman. The author, Dean Zabriskie, who served with Bishop Brent's Joint Commission on Approaches to Unity, has since 1941 been dean of Virginia Seminary, where he has been professor of church history.

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

The Performance of Physically Impaired Workers in Manufacturing Industries: A Report Prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the Veterans Administration. (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 923.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. vii+133. \$0.55.

Planned immediately after the war when the Veterans Administration was concerned about the placement of disabled veterans in industry, this study seeks "to compare, over the same period of time, the work performance of impaired workers with that of unimpaired workers in the same jobs." Data were collected during 1946 and 1947, and the periods studied in the 109 manufacturing plants surveyed ranged from 1945 through early 1947. Although the plants were widely scattered geographically and 19 of the 20 manufacturing industries (Standard Industrial Classification) are represented, this study is not based on a representative cross-section of manufacturing plants. Obviously, concerns not employing impaired workers are excluded. Only those plants which had adequate records of physical examinations, absences, injuries, and production could be included. Furthermore, for reasons of economy, only those plants which employed at least twenty impaired workers were studied because of the time-consuming task of searching the records. The Bureau of Labor Statistics selected the plants on the basis of the information it could get about firms which employed sizable numbers of the disabled and which kept the necessary records.

In each plant surveyed field representatives of the Bureau of Labor Statistics searched the records and obtained data on every worker with a serious impairment within the careful definitions adopted, except for persons occupying clerical, administrative, and supervisory positions. Each impaired worker was matched with from one to three unimpaired workers of the same sex, on the same shift, of approximately the same age, with about the same length of experience, and working on the same job in the same department of the same plant. Impaired workers who could not be matched in this way

with their fellow-workers were dropped from the study. The survey group included 11,028 impaired workers and 18,258 unimpaired workers whose work records were studied over a period of at least six months and preferably a year. The comparative data thus obtained were taken from the records regularly maintained by the plant and were completely objective. No one was asked whether he thought workers with physical impairments made records comparable to those of the able-bodied as to production, absenteeism, work injuries, etc.

These objective work-performance data show that the outstanding features of the comparison are the similarities between the impaired and unimpaired workers. Differences in the measures of work performance between the two groups were fractional for the most part, with the balance slightly in favor of the impaired worker group: impaired workers produced at a slightly better rate and had relatively fewer disabling work injuries than did unimpaired workers on identical jobs. The two groups had identical frequency rates of nondisabling injuries, and average rates of absenteeism showed only nominal differences. Although the voluntary quit rate was higher for the impaired group, it is questionable whether the difference is large enough to be counted significant.

With impressions as a basis, those concerned with the placement of physically handicapped workers have long held that workers with physical impairments, properly placed, could hold their own in production, were less subject to accidents, were far more faithful in attendance, and almost never quit voluntarily because of their known difficulty in getting jobs. Employers have been more than skeptical on the other side, and over the years they have clung to the belief, without any objective evidence, save an occasional exceptional and dramatic case, that compensation costs would mount and efficiency would be lessened if disabled workers were hired. The objective surveys of the last few years have demonstrated more likenesses than differences between impaired and unimpaired workers. The present survey, the largest made, gives convincing evidence of likeness.

Sad to say, even among these 109 plants where the impaired workers held their own ac-

according to the employers' records, "only 25 of the surveyed plants had definite, stated policies of no exclusions because of any impairment. In these plants, if the abilities of the applicant met the requirements of the job vacancy, physical impairment was not a cause for rejection." Six plants excluded all impaired applicants as a matter of policy. (The impaired workers on their pay rolls at the time of the study were persons who became disabled by injury or disease after their employment or during the war when employers' "standards" were perforce relaxed.) Other plants had blanket exclusion policies for specified types of disability ranging from 33 and 32 plants, respectively, in cases of hernia and epilepsy to 3 plants which barred those with hearing impairments.

Selective placement of the impaired worker on a job where his disability does not interfere is a logical procedure; American industry cherishes its record of efficiency based on "facts" and logical procedures; yet many of these plants which have the "facts" in their books appear to be governed in their hiring policies of impaired workers, like workers from minority groups, by prejudice rather than logic.

This study should provide extremely useful evidence of the industrial value of the impaired worker in combating ignorance and prejudice. Findings are given first for the group as a whole, then separately for workers with (1) hernias, (2) cardiac disabilities, (3) vision defects, (4) orthopedic impairments, (5) hearing defects, (6) multiple impairments (i.e., combinations of two or more of the other nine classifications), (7) histories of tuberculosis, (8) peptic ulcers, (9) diabetes, and (10) epilepsy. This organization of the report makes for easy reference for anyone especially interested in one or more groups of the disabled. Social workers should find this report valuable.

MARY E. MACDONALD

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Denver Bureau of Public Welfare: A Study of Aid to Dependent Children Cases of Mothers with One Child Receiving ADC Grant on March, 1948. By GERTRUDE VAILE, assisted by BLANCHE POWELL BONNER. Denver, Colo.: Denver Bureau of Public Welfare, 1948. Pp. 50.

About a third of the Denver ADC families had only one child; and the mayor asked, if the mother was able-bodied and if care could be ar-

ranged for the child, why might not the mother work and support herself and her child. To answer this and other questions that had been asked about the ADC group, a study of 333 families composed of the mother and one child was undertaken. The staff of the Denver Bureau of Public Welfare collected data, Miss Vaile and Miss Bonner reviewed the findings, and Miss Vaile wrote the report, assuming responsibility for the opinions expressed in it.

Certain group characteristics were revealed through the study. The mothers were quite young with quite young children or much older women with children twelve years of age or older. More families were dependent because of the desertion of the husband than for any other one reason, with unmarried mothers the next largest dependent group. Nearly one-half of the whole group were Spanish-American mothers, and one-tenth were Negroes. For the most part, the mothers were poorly educated, lacking in work skills; and many, especially among the older women, were in poor health. About one-third of the group wanted to work, and four had some employment. One hundred forty-two were unable to work because of ill health or for other reasons, and the others wanted to be home with their children.

The question of the care that might be available for children of working mothers was not discussed, although apparently day-care centers would be a resource in a number of instances. Apparently other members of the family are the ones who would be expected to look after most of the children if the mother were out of the home.

The study points up the need for social and economic rehabilitation of the families and among its eight recommendations includes two for particularly well-qualified workers to work with unmarried mothers and with absent fathers. The question asked by the mayor is answered in part by the recommendation that the possibilities of employment be given consideration where "it is suitable and feasible without sacrificing the welfare of the child or the mothers." The authors of the report believe that no child should be denied the mother's care and companionship in the home because he is the only child.

Miss Vaile says that it would be immensely simpler if assistance could be given on some basis other than a means test and that social service, to be most constructive, requires a trained staff. She speaks with appreciation, understand-

ing, and respect for the staff and the work of the Denver Bureau of Public Welfare.

CAROL K. GOLDSTEIN

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Minnesota Division of Social Welfare, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year July 1, 1947, through June 30, 1948. St. Paul, 1948. Pp. 52.

This brief but workmanlike report, by Jarle Leirfallom, director of the Division, makes no reference to the State Department of Social Security, of which the Division is a part but which is essentially a paper organization. The *Report* is organized according to the principal units of the Division: Child Welfare, Public Assistance, Field Services, Medical Services, Financial and Statistical Services, Personnel, Appeals (Legal Services), and Central (State) Index. The Appendix contains twelve pages of tables.

A great increase has occurred in activities related to adoption. During the year, 1,721 new adoption petitions were filed in the state, a 25 per cent increase over the previous year and a 68 per cent increase over 1945-46. Recommendations on petitions to adopt children were sent to the courts in respect to 1,740 children in 1947-48 compared to 1,067 the previous year, an increase of 63 per cent. Adoption was recommended by the Director in the cases of 1,690 children, opposed in 18 cases, and continuances pending further study were recommended in the cases of the remaining 32 children. During the year, 1,626 adoption decrees were entered, an increase of 49 per cent over the previous year.

The number of births out of wedlock in the state, according to the State Board of Health, underwent a slight decrease during the year, paralleling the decrease in the state's total birth rate. During the year, service was given by county welfare boards, private social service agencies, and maternity hospitals for unmarried mothers to 1,941 mothers and their children compared to 2,209 the previous year.

Efforts to enlist new foster-homes resulted in licensing 537 new homes this year, two-thirds of them under the auspices of the public agencies. Analysis of the "source of interest," as reported on the application blanks, showed the greatest single source of new homes to be "experienced and successful foster-parents."

With respect to the need for additional day-care facilities and for their supervision following the termination of the war program, the Divi-

sion, after considering asking for legal authority to limit the spontaneous springing-up of "play groups," decided to encourage such groups but to give guidance so that they might provide acceptable places for children.

The number of children under the program of aid to dependent children was 12,086 in 1937 and 16,363 in 1948. The average grant per child increased in this period from \$11.77 to \$26.70—a "still insufficient" amount.

The number of recipients of old age assistance decreased from 62,783 in 1937-38 to 54,330 in the current year, the figure showing an increase this year for the first time since 1942. During the current year the lien collections amounted to slightly over a million dollars, or about a hundred thousand dollars less than last year. The total amount collected from this source since the beginning of 1940 aggregates about four and a half million dollars. The high collections from this source during the last two years are stated to have "resulted mainly from higher property values." During the year the grants of a fifth of the recipients of old age assistance included amounts for medical care. The Division recommends that the system of licensing and supervising homes for the aged be extended to include all homes giving care and service to two or more aged individuals.

The number of persons receiving general relief during the year was 16,728, as compared with about 11,000 at the close of the war. It is pointed out that the twenty-one counties which use the township system of relief have less than half as many cases on the average as the other sixty-one rural counties, which use the county system. The *Report* suggests that "either need is not being met, or the reporting procedure from township counties is not accurate."

With respect to the field services by which local administration of welfare services is supervised by the Division, there is an interesting reference to the review by the field staff of nominees for noncommissioner memberships on the county welfare boards. Field representatives "interview both the candidates and local persons who are in a position to know the ability and character of the candidates and then report their findings to the director. Thus the director in fulfilling his statutory duties of appointment . . . has the facts necessary to make an informed, intelligent choice."

To streamline the procedure of making county survey reports (which were made in twenty-six of the counties during the year), emphasis was put "on practices that posed special difficulties or were unusually good," omitting mention

of administrative procedures that were considered to be merely satisfactory.

The medical allowance schedule for public assistance recipients is stated to have been increased 25 per cent for the coming year.

Partly due to the work of the x-ray units operated by the State Board of Health a smaller proportion of persons with far advanced cases of tuberculosis was admitted into all sanatoria (60.2 per cent in 1947 as compared with 68.6 per cent in 1946). Pointing out that the increased costs of care in sanatoria fall almost entirely on the counties, some of which find it very difficult to pay for them, the Division advises increasing state aid to this program.

The share of the public assistance costs paid by the counties was 17 per cent of old age assistance, 28 per cent of aid to dependent children, and 93 per cent of general relief. The expenditures for these three programs considered together were financed from the following sources (in millions of dollars); federal 16, state 10, and counties 14, total 40 (not including about 3 millions expended for administration). The tax levies for welfare purposes in the counties varied from 12 to 55 per cent of the total tax levy of the particular county, the counties least able having the highest percentages for welfare. The problem in some of the counties was acute, and the *Report* advises reconsidering the financial participation of the federal and state governments in these programs.

Plans were made during the year for a complete revision of county and private agency reporting of child welfare work. Plans were also made for two special studies in old age assistance and aid to dependent children as part of a study by the Social Security Administration.

The number of positions in the Division was 242, about 30 of which were vacant, the Division preferring to make no appointments if qualified persons could not be recruited. Special difficulty was encountered in filling child welfare positions. The difficulty of attracting well-qualified persons into public welfare work at current salaries is pointed out. In the meantime the Division was attempting to eliminate factors responsible for turnover through improving working conditions and removing inequities in job classification and pay ranges. Employees' suggestions were solicited through exit interviews and an open-door policy for hearing grievances.

WILLIAM W. BURKE

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St. Louis*

Alabama Department of Public Welfare, Public Welfare Dollars Make Sense: Thirteenth Annual Report for the Fiscal Year October 1, 1947—September 30, 1948. Montgomery, Ala., 1948. Pp. 40.

This *Report* points out that

Alabama's public welfare service, since its beginning in 1935, has accepted certain fundamental principles as necessary if the people to whom it belongs and for whom it was established are to receive maximum benefit. These principles are: a foundation of sound laws; local-State-Federal coordination; personnel chosen on the basis of merit; adequate monies; and public understanding.

Reviewing progress toward these goals, the *Report* finds generally satisfactory implementation of all but one of these principles.

That the laws are sound is evidenced from the fact that only minor revisions have had to be made since they were first passed. There is a working pattern of local-State-Federal coordination. All personnel is chosen on a merit basis. . . . [And] there is increasing public awareness. . . .

The *Report* addresses itself to an interpretative discussion of the meaning for client and community of inadequate implementation of the principle of "adequate monies." In graphic words, pictures, and charts, it hammers out the argument that the expenditure of public welfare dollars makes "sense" when sufficient "to meet human need that already exists, to keep that need from recurring, and to prevent new need from arising." To the extent that the expenditure is not sufficient, it doesn't make enough sense for this agency.

The *Report* squarely eyes the fact that public welfare in Alabama, as elsewhere, has grown to be "big business." It views with pride that taxpayers in the year of report made an "investment" in public welfare of over twenty-two million dollars. But, with the courage of sound statesmanship, it tells the taxpayers that twenty-two million dollars don't make enough sense, considering the needs in the state. Instanced are facts showing that assistance recipients generally got far less than they needed during the year. For example, a study of ADC families during one month of the year revealed that each family needed, on the average, about \$80 for food, rent, medical care, and school supplies. Payments averaged for this particular month only about \$30—"too little," in the words of the *Report*, "if the investment in children today is to pay maximum dividends in good citizens in the years ahead."

While making out a strong case for more

funds for public welfare to make possible more nearly adequate financial and other services to the people of the state, the *Report* emphasizes that "more dollars—alone—won't solve the problem." Other parts of the answer must be provided through legislative and administrative action on the part of state and federal governments. Singled out for particular attention are: raising of per capita income; extension of social security benefits; federal participation in the cost of welfare services now borne entirely by state and local funds; extension of the principle of variable grants-in-aid to states; federal participation in the cost of direct payment for medical care for public assistance recipients; creation of employment opportunities for able-bodied aged; expanded public medical care facilities; establishment of public nursing homes for the chronically ill, and provision for payment of assistance grants to inmates of such homes.

This is a highly readable report, which is particularly interesting for its interpretation of a common problem of state departments of public welfare.

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Rhode Island Department of Social Welfare, Safeguarding Human Rights: Thirteenth Annual Report, 1946-1947. Providence, R.I., 1948. Pp. 120.

This forthright report was designed to set forth problems and to describe the functions of the various divisions of the Department of Social Welfare so that the services offered would be understood by all concerned with welfare in Rhode Island.

The department's eleven operating units include the Bureau for the Blind, Soldiers' Welfare, Penal and Correctional Institutions, Probation and Parole, the State Hospital for Mental Diseases, a State Infirmary, the Training Schools (one for boys and one for girls), Exeter School for the Mentally Deficient, Public Assistance, and the Children's Division. Certain facilitating services are also covered, such as the Division of Institutional Farms and the Research Division.

Each of these is explained by material covering the function, the personnel, and a descrip-

tion of the year's work, followed by an explanation of needs and specific recommendations for future action.

The Children's Division had carried on a staff-development program in which the interest displayed by staff was gratifying. Special funds had made possible some increase in boarding rates, which resulted in a material increase in the number of foster-homes. Commitments to the State Home and School, as such, were discontinued, and all commitments are now made to the Children's Division.

Among needs pointed out for child care were still further increased board rates; additional and better trained staff; more funds for clothing, for children's allowances, and for vocational training; and increased medical, dental, psychological, and psychiatric services.

The correctional institutions asked for the re-establishment of the basic rehabilitative services related to classification, vocational training, education, and social service which were practically eliminated during the year by reduced appropriations.

Rhode Island's old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind programs are state administered whereas general assistance remains locally administered. The *Report* indicates a desire to "eliminate these categories which create artificial distinctions" but points out as obstacles the lack of federal participation in general public assistance and its separate administration.

There is a graphic statement interpreting the causes of dependency. Among those listed are the inadequacy of Old Age and Survivors Insurance benefits and that program's limited coverage; rising living costs; the reduction in or disappearance of "free" medical and other services for low-income individuals and families; insufficient and inadequate housing; and unemployment and underemployment largely the result of plant closings for temporary periods.

Information about the group dependent upon general assistance is, of course, lacking. More ample figures on assistance payments would have been helpful, but this is a humane *Report*, clearly and simply written, and should serve admirably the purpose for which it was prepared.

MARY HOUK

*Division of Social Service
Indiana University*

Department of Public Assistance, Philadelphia County Board, Annual Report, 1948: Spotlight on Public Assistance in Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1949. Pp. 18+iv.

This is an exceptionally well-organized, brief, and clear presentation of public assistance data. The material is given pictorially—in diagrams and charts that are simple, easily grasped, and accompanied by concise interpretative comment on salient points. We learn again that inadequate OASI grants increase the number of aged in need of assistance, that incapacity runs a close second to absence of the wage-earner as a major cause of dependency in families of young children, that when any minority group is economically disadvantaged, its support will necessarily come from public funds, and that unemployment plays a large part in the size of the general assistance load. Even with employment at high level, these distressed groups will remain. To help them further, the *Report* recommends more comprehensive insurance programs, a national economy offering stable employment to all, and preventive services, including medical care, housing, and rehabilitation. All this isn't new but it is interesting, and the way in which it is marshaled makes it convincing.

C. K. G.

Medical and Hospital Services Provided under Prepayment Arrangements, Trinity Hospital, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1941-42. By MARGARET C. KLEM, HELEN HOLLINGSWORTH, and ZELMA A. MISER. (Federal Security Agency, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Bureau Memorandum No. 69.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. vii+276. \$1.00.

This report presents a study of physicians' care in the office, home, and hospital and hospitalization received by subscribers and their dependents eligible for care under prepayment arrangements at Trinity Hospital, Little Rock, Arkansas. The report covers two study years: during the first study year all the contract services were provided without additional charge, while during the second study year a fifty-cent charge was made for each clinic visit. The report shows the service received during each study year and the extent to which the various age and sex groups reduced their requests for service during the second study year. It also presents data with regard to services received by individuals and families over a twenty-four-month period.

The *Social Security Bulletin* summarized the information regarding Trinity Hospital services during the first study year (1941) as follows:

1. A large proportion of both subscribers and dependents made some use of their privileges. At some time during the year, approximately four-fifths made physicians' office visits, about one-third also came to the office to receive care from other staff members without seeing a physician at the same time, about one-eighth were hospitalized, and almost half received some form of laboratory service.

2. Visits to physicians made by persons of different age groups varied from 3.3 visits for infants born during the study year to 6.2 for subscribers 65 years of age or over. . . .

3. Home calls were few in comparison with office visits, showing that the practice of making additional charges for home calls affects the number of these services received. . . .

4. There were 154 hospital cases per 1,000 persons eligible for care throughout the year, receiving a total of 862 days of hospital care, or an average of 5.6 days per case. Hospital cases and days of hospital care varied greatly among the different age groups. Dependents aged 20-24 had more than twice the number of hospital cases reported for most other age groups. Dependents 25-34 years of age and subscribers 65 and over also averaged a large number of cases. These three groups and infants born during the year received the largest number of days of hospital care.

5. The experience at Trinity was similar to that under the usual fee-for-service practice in that most of the care furnished in the course of a year was received by a relatively small number of persons who had either long-continued or a series of illnesses.

6. Disregarding price changes for service between 1928-31 and 1941, the cost of the prepayment contract plus the extra charges for home calls, eye refractions, and special accommodations during hospitalization at Trinity in 1941 were not much more than the sum paid for services of this type by persons in the \$3,000-5,000 income groups living in medium-sized cities and studied by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care in 1928-31. The volume of services received by Trinity subscribers and their dependents was comparable with that purchased by persons with annual incomes of \$10,000 or more who paid about four times as much for the services received on a fee-for-service basis.

International Labour Conference, Thirty-second Session, Geneva, 1949: Report of the Director-General, First Item on the Agenda. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1949. Pp. 156. \$1.00.

The Thirty-second International Labour Conference held its final session last July, but this published *Report* marks only the thirtieth

anniversary of the founding of the ILO. It is important because it is the first report of the new director-general, David A. Morse, the successor of such well-known men as Albert Thomas, Harold Butler, John Winant, and Edward Phelan. Mr. Morse very properly emphasizes the fact that his predecessors created "the unparalleled tradition of objective and universal research and service."

The *Report* attempts to survey "the broad changes that have taken place within the International Labour Organisation and in its relation to Member States since it was founded, to discuss the implications of those changes for the present and future programs of the Organisation, and to give consideration to the policy which the Organisation should pursue in the years immediately ahead."

The *Report* deals with some important questions—the "structure of the world's economy," the divergence of experience from expectations, with such "trends in social policy" as manpower

problems, conditions of work, the guaranteed wage, women's employment, industrial safety and industrial health, social security, and related questions.

"Social policy in non-metropolitan territories" covers some other important questions. Finally, there are the "Activities of the I.L.O."—the composition of the organization, conventions and recommendations, meetings of conferences and committees, and other activities.

On the whole, as we are told in the conclusion, "time has confirmed the wisdom of those who created the International Labour Organisation and dedicated it to the pursuit of social progress and social justice. In taking stock we have seen a world-wide ferment of ideas . . . of regulations and institutions in the field of labour protection and organisation; of constructive and effective activity on the part of the Organisation; and of great positive opportunities for further activity."

CONTRIBUTORS

OTHER THAN CHICAGO FACULTY

GIOVANNI MAGNOLATO, of the Administration for International Assistance for the Piedmont Region in Italy, spent an extended period in the United States in 1946 as an UNRRA Fellow, studying our social welfare agencies.

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VIRGINIA MATTHEWS was employed by the American Red Cross in 1945 as a staff aide, serving in Hawaii and later in the Philippine Islands.

HILDE LANDENBERGER HOCHWALD has recently resigned as case worker with the Family and Children's Service, St. Louis, Missouri, to join the staff of the School of Social Work of Washington University, St. Louis.

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ROBERT J. ALEXANDER, of the Department of Economics, Rutgers University, worked for the Labor Division Office of Inter-American Affairs and is the author of a forthcoming study of labor relations in Chile.

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